TELE-TOURISM:
Investigating the Inter-Connections between Television and Tourism

by

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Abstract

My thesis investigates the inter-connections between **television film**, **people** and **place** in the context of **tourism**. It begins by contextualizing the field of research and its researcher (me) and goes on to examine the complexity of the above inter-connections drawing from a variety of literature. It reveals how and why television film is an important and powerful agent in the production and consumption of tourism meanings and proposes that television film is significantly implicated in the construction of people's imagined and experienced geographies of place as realized by their practice of tourism. In order to determine how these proposals translate into practice and to further define the relationship between television film and tourism, I undertake a programme of research which emphasizes the voices of 51 Australians actually engaged in the practice of tourism, and examine how and why television film inter-connects with their practice of UK tourism. This work is complemented by an investigation of how UK tourism is produced for Australians more generally and the inter-connection this production has with television film. I also utilize an auto-ethnographic approach in order to analyze my own practice of tele-tourism (anticipated by the Australian tourists I work with) and document how my imagined geographies of selected tele-filmic places map onto my experienced geographies of them. The research reveals how television film depicting the UK screened in Australia powerfully (re)produces meanings about the UK, and how these meanings become incorporated into the everyday lives of Australians and expressed through their practice of tourism. It also reveals how people's imagined and experienced geographies of real and 'reel' places dynamically inter-connect with one another and the existence of a hermeneutic circuit exclusively concerned with tele-tourism; that is, where tele-tourism meanings are continually produced, consumed and (*re*)produced. The thesis concludes by critically appraising the way in which I undertake the programme of research, delineating lacunae which invite further research and making inferences about television film's inter-connections with tourism more generally.

for my Mum

with lots of love from Nichola xxx

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Author's Declaration

I declare that the work in this thesis was carried out in accordance with the regulations of the University of Bristol. The work is original except where indicated by special reference in the text and no part of the thesis has been submitted for any other degree.

Any views expressed in the thesis are those of the author and in no way represent those of the University of Bristol.

The thesis has not been presented to any other University for examination either in the United Kingdom or overseas.

Signed: Nicholas Tooke Date: 13 June 1999

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List of Abbreviations

ABC:	Australian Broadcasting Corporation.
ABS:	Australian Bureau of Statistics.
ACT:	Australian Capital Territory.
AHC:	Australian High Commission.
ATC:	Australian Tourist Commission.
BA:	British Airways.
BAFTA:	British Academy of Film and Television Arts.
BARB:	Broadcasters' Audience Research Board.
BBC/BBC TV:	British Broadcasting Corporation.
BFC:	British Film Commission.
BOAC:	British Overseas Airways Corporation.
BTA:	British Tourist Authority.
CNN:	Cable News Network.
ESRC:	Economic & Social Research Council.

ETB:	English Tourist Board.
GSA:	General Sales Agent.
HVB:	Hawaii Visitors Bureau.
IH:	International House.
IPS:	International Passenger Survey.
IRA:	Irish Republican Army.
ITC:	Independent Tourist Commission.
ITV:	Independent Television.
LTB:	London Tourist Board.
NITB:	Northern Ireland Tourist Board.
NSW:	New South Wales.
NT:	Northern Territory.
NYMNP:	North Yorkshire Moors National Park.
OPCS:	Office of Population Censuses and Surveys.
RSI:	Repetitive Strain Injury.

SA:	South Australia.
STB:	Scottish Tourist Board.
TBS:	Turner Broadcasting System.
TIC:	Tourist Information Centre.
TNT:	Turner Network Television.
UN:	United Nations.
VFR:	Visiting Family and Relatives.
WA:	West Australia.
WTB:	Wales Tourist Board.
WTO:	World Tourism Organisation.
WTTC:	World Travel and Tourism Council.
YHSC:	Yorkshire & Humberside Screen Commission.
YHTB:	Yorkshire & Humberside Tourist Board.
YTV:	Yorkshire Television.

Chapter One: Researching Tele-Tourism

Introduction

Florence was not as I thought it would be[1]. I had expected to see (probably in soft-focus) ornamented Palladian palazzi of white marble and glittering white Renaissance piazze with fountains and statues dwarfed by a huge gleaming duomo in the city's centre.

Figure 1.1: Brunelleschi's Dome and the Duomo, Florence

[1] I travelled to Florence in February 1999.

The narrow, claustrophobic streets fuming with pollution, noise, whining mopeds and people were thus quite a disappointing contrast as was the duomo's gaudy, dirty and deteriorating marble work which put in mind of a wedding cake..... Watching *A Room with a View* had utterly spoiled my initial encounter with Florence[2]. My disappointment however, was mitigated by further perambulations and viewing the city from the top of Brunelleschi's marvellous feat of engineering, an enormous dome constructed without scaffolding (and depicted in Figure 1.1). The vista I was afforded from here included clusters of terracotta-red roofs twinkling with the odd atrium, rusticated campaniles, church towers and spires, sandy-yellow houses, narrow ochre streets, lush green giardini, the river Arno and the Tuscan hills brimming full of olive groves, vineyards, cypresses and fine villas in the distance. I left Florence two days later thinking it to be a very fine city and still had Kiri te Kanawa singing Puccini's, "O mio babbino caro" (the song which accompanies the opening and ending shots of *A Room with a View*) in my head.....

This thesis is concerned with the inter-connections existing between **film** (and **television film** in particular) **people** and **place** in the context of **tourism**. As such, it investigates a neglected, yet very important field of research and, one which has fascinated me for some time. This chapter more specifically, introduces and contextualizes this field of research and its researcher (me) and, maps out how these two relate to one another. It constitutes three main parts;

- **contextualizing the research** - this part of the chapter explores how I became initially interested by the field of research. It examines the most relevant academic work undertaken to date and, in so doing reveals lacunae which this thesis redresses.

- **contextualizing the researcher** - this part of the chapter contextualizes myself as a researcher and, my relationship with the field of research. It focuses on my previous

[2] See Chapter Three's discussion of how film and television can make it difficult for people to have a 'real' experience of place.

research practice, my practice of tourism production and consumption and, my practice of consuming film and television.

- **the thesis** - this part of the chapter maps out the programme of research I undertook in order to produce knowledge relating to television film's inter-connections with tourism.

Contextualizing the Research

Moving house in 1993 to Holmfirth, West Yorkshire, the location for BBC TV's television series, *Last of the Summer Wine*, fired my initial curiosity in the relationship existing between filmic material and tourism. I became very struck by how people often referred to *Last of the Summer Wine* when I explained where I lived and, how Holmfirth seemed to be made more special (and, even exciting) to people because of this relationship. Visitors to me specifically and Holmfirth more generally often wanted to see places depicted in the series. "Nora Batty's" cottage and "Sid's" café (the most obviously identifiable places from the series) were musts and continue to be the town's most visited sites (Rhodes 1999).

Whilst Holmfirth (like other towns and villages in the surrounding area) has always attracted some tourism, the production and broadcasting of *Last of the Summer Wine* is associated with a very marked increase in visits to and interest about Holmfirth (Bryon-Edmond 1999; Rhodes 1999). This increase has been sustained and continues to have impacts (both positive and negative) on the small town's political, economic, socio-cultural and environmental structures which as such attract much popular attention. A thriving tourism industry has been developed to capitalize on *Last of the Summer Wine* tourism and evidenced by the permanent exhibition dedicated to the series, coach tours, walking tours of the sights, tea shops, gift shops, postcards, themed merchandize and marketing paraphernalia (Tooke 1994).

This experience is not exclusive to Holmfirth. Earlier research (I undertook for a master's thesis) revealed that other television films too have an important relationship with the tourism realized at the places depicted within them (Tooke 1994; Tooke & Baker 1996). The data that I collated in respect of locations employed by BBC TV's *To the Manor Born*, *By the Sword Divided*, *Middlemarch* and, YTV's *Heartbeat* demonstrated that visits to and interest about places increases following their appearance in television film (Tooke 1994; Tooke & Baker 1996). This research was corroborated by an analysis of the ways in which places' tele-filmic connections are utilized by the tourism industry for promotional practice, an examination of impacts caused to places which have experienced an increase in tourism because of their association with television film production, an investigation of popular literature, survey material, personal anecdotes and communications and, by research undertaken in the US on film (Riley & Van Doren 1992a,b; Riley 1994; Riley *et al* 1998; Tooke 1994; Tooke & Baker 1996). I furthermore undertook a survey which revealed that television film made people aware of the particular places shown and, that watching television film had an impact on what people did whilst touring these places (Tooke 1994).

This research is significant because it establishes that tourism increases at places following their appearance in motion picture or television film. It also verifies that the inter-connection television film has with tourism is of importance and consequence, and, reveals something about the processes and practices involved. The research for example indicates that people visit locations for a wide variety of reasons. Riley & Van Doren (1992a) postulate that motion picture film provides a kind of inter-active experience which: enables a mass of people to become informed, aware and attracted to places; allows for sustained periods of seemingly non-biased place exposure; provides a vicarious involvement and identification with the places portrayed; and, (re)produces places in a way which enhances them. They understand that this inter-active experience of place in turn prompts tourism for reasons relating to escape, pilgrimage and the quest

for untainted environments[3]. They (Riley *et al* 1998) have also suggested more recently that film (re)produces extraordinary and distinguishable icons (which can be abstract or tangible and, visual or not) which become the focal points for people's visitation and, extend the application of their argument from natural scenery to include story-line themes, exciting sequences and human relationships.

However, this research understands the relationship between filmic material and tourism entirely in positivist terms. There is a paucity of substantiated academic work therefore relating to *how* and *why* places depicted on screen become so much more attractive to people, the processes and practices involved and, knowledge which relates to the cultural sphere in which this takes place[4]. This thesis thus is about the collation, presentation, description and analysis of knowledge which redresses these lacunae. It utilizes a variety of qualitative methods and emphasizes an auto-ethnographic approach which I believe have been better able to extrapolate knowledge with which to address the hows? and, whys? of the research field and, which I have learned about whilst undertaking research at the University of Bristol's School of Geographical Sciences[5]. I furthermore, do not seek to produce *the* truth about the inter-connections existing between television, people and place in the context of tourism. The knowledge which follows here is rather constitutive of a series of subjective and inter-subjective truths or stories which recognize a pluralist dialogue between collated data and material, people, places and myself and, have a basis in hermeneutics (Duncan & Ley 1993). As such, this research challenges the false neutrality of my own and others' work (described here).

And, whilst this thesis does engage with academic research on motion picture film, (because so little exists on television; particularly that which is documented by

[3] However, they acknowledge later that, "[l]ocations need not be beautiful, nor the storylines positive in order to attract visitors. Whilst positive affect may well be important, 'dark' movies have also created visitation booms." (p932). See also Butler (1990).

[4] There is also a paucity of work relating to how and why places depicted on screen can be associated with a decrease in tourism to and within the place depicted. It would be equally interesting to research places that have experienced a decline in tourism like the former Yugoslavia region and define and determine the inter-connection this decline has had with their depiction on television.

[5] I also utilize some quantitative techniques in order, "to reveal the broad contours of difference" (Mclafferty 1995, p438).

geographers) its concern is with television in particular because television was revealed to have a more powerful inter-connection with the tourism practised by the people I am described working with in Chapters Four and Six. The thesis also emphasizes television (as opposed to cinema) because my previous research revealed that television film is significant in terms of its relationship with people and tourism (Tooke 1994; Tooke & Baker 1996), because it is saturated with geographical meaning (Burgess 1990), because people watch more filmic material on television (Jenkins & Youngs 1983) and, because I believe its inter-connection with tourism is of greater consequence to people and place. However, in order to map the knowledge that I produce, it is important to map the researcher, me (Haraway 1991).

Contextualizing the Researcher

> "all knowledge is produced in specific circumstances and that those circumstances shape it in some way" (Rose 1997, p305).

This thesis thus constitutes highly subjective geographies and whilst recognizing its pitfalls[6] employs an auto-ethnographical/biographical approach which inter-connects elements of my own life experience with academic and popular literatures and in so doing, constructs my own cultural and social frame of reference or, 'post-ethnography' (Dorst 1989). It is because this thesis is so subject to who and what I am, that it is important to write my position into the research practice (McDowell 1992). This part of the chapter therefore contextualizes myself as a researcher and, my relationship with the field of research. And whilst I can not hold to completely knowing of who and what I am, it attempts to examine the dynamic "tangle" of who and what I am but stresses my previous practice as a researcher, as a producer and consumer of tourism and, a consumer of television film (Cloke 1994, p149)[7]. Chapter Four extends this by

[6] See Gregory (1994); Pile & Thrift (1995) and Cloke (1999).
[7] See also Gibson-Graham (1994).

discussing how my gender, colour, age, lifestyle and working in Australia impact on the programme of research I undertake.

I have undertaken a variety of research both within and without the academy. My undergraduate thesis constituted the first piece of research I have undertaken and investigated the relationship between primary education and industry and, involved the examination of academic literature only. Following this I worked for six years and during this time co-ordinated a programme of research to determine the readership of a magazine which involved a survey whilst working for Reed Publishing and, the analysis of secondary tourist market research material and data whilst employed by the London Tourist Board (LTB). I undertook further academic research relating specifically to tourism (already referred to here) whilst undertaking an MSc in Tourism Management at the University of Surrey which included the investigation of academic literature, the analysis of secondary statistical material and data and, the survey of 160 tourists and its analysis by use of parametric testing[8]. Whilst this survey in particular generated the information intended, I did however, have some concerns about its limiting and distorting the voice of the tourists I was working with (see Chapter Four).

My work as a Research Assistant at the University of Huddersfield provided me with my first experience of qualitative methods. Here, I utilized semi-structured interviews to elicit knowledge about 200 school children's perceptions of themselves in terms of employability and 40 parents' views of the education system. I remember being impressed by the rich quality of the material produced by these interviews (in contrast to my earlier work with questionnaires) and, how they allowed much more for interviewees' stories. And, it is because they do this that I decided to use semi-structured interviewing as a main method for collecting information about people's practice of tourism here (see Chapter Four).

[8] I also undertook a Diploma of Marketing with the Chartered Institute of Marketing which involved an analysis of the Australian Tourist Commission's policy and practice during this time.

As discussed earlier, my undertaking of this research has been very different in both theory and practice. My studentship at the University of Bristol's School of Geographical Sciences has provided me with the opportunity to explore the sense of concern and doubt I experienced using quantitative methods and, to learn more about alternative methodologies and approaches partly anticipated by my previous work with semi-structured interviews. My supervision, reading, (especially that which related to auto-ethnography, feminist methodology and self reflexivity in particular) and debate with colleagues in the School has posed an exciting challenge (which I have also found to be difficult at times) to my research practice and made me question my rather dogmatic use of the positivist approach and its emphases on representative samples, validity, objectivity, 'robust' statistical analysis and, the invisibility of myself.

My experience in the production of tourism is also varied and includes working in the airline section of a travel agency, (American Express), in the sales departments of two tour operators, (Quest Travel and Skibound Ltd) and, on a freelance basis for a tourism consultancy (Ecotourism). Whilst this work has provided me with a practical understanding of how the tourism industry operates it has been my employment as a Marketing Executive at the LTB (for two years and subsequently on a freelance basis) and as a Tourism Development Assistant for Kirklees Metropolitan Council which have been of most benefit to the programme of research I undertake here. This work in particular has provided me with a thorough working knowledge of the UK's inbound tourism industry which I have been able to inter-connect with the literature I review in Chapters Two and Three. It has furthermore, enabled me to access organizations, people, information and tourists which have been crucial to the undertaking of this research with relative ease and, to advise the tourists I worked with on their tours in an informed way (and, in so doing, reciprocate the time and knowledge they shared with me). The research programme has also benefited more generally from my having planned and managed work overseas, from my having worked with all kinds of people and, from my being familiar with some of the research procedures I undertake (which are described in Chapter Four). However, whilst my employment in the tourism industry

has provided me with skills and experiences which have been invaluable for the facilitation of this thesis, my understanding of tourism (prior to undertaking research in the University of Bristol's School of Geographical Sciences) was very much in terms of management and capital and, answerable to the questions; when? what? who? where? which? how many? and, (more to the point), how much?

My interest in the answers to the questions how? and, why? derive essentially from my own, and, observation of other people's experience of consuming tourism. I am an experienced consumer of tourism and have travelled to a variety of 'developed' and 'developing', long and short haul destinations as both a business and leisure tourist[9]. I have enjoyed touring as a 'mass-package' tourist, as an independent tourist (in search of 'high culture') and more recently as a 'post' tourist (Feifer 1985), alone and with others. I have also used a variety of transportation methods and accommodation types, toured for varying lengths of time and, for various reasons. I have an insatiable curiosity for places, people and cultures that I am, and am not familiar with, other people's practice of tourism (which I have been able to observe both as a producer and consumer of tourism), the industry and systems which realize tourism and, the processes and practices involved[10]. My experience as a consumer of tourism has thus complemented the geography of tourism presented in Chapter Three and, my understanding of my own and others' practice of tourism (which is discussed in Chapters Four, Five, Six and Seven).

I also have much experience of consuming film and television. But, it is only more recently and since living in Bristol that I have begun to watch films more regularly and, with a more conscious embodied gaze which has corresponded with what I have learned about film whilst undertaking this research. I am now much more thoughtful about how film is produced and how its meanings and discourses (both intended and unintended) are constructed. I am also much more aware of how I consume film, how I accept, negotiate and reject the inherent meanings (Hall 1973), the feelings that this process affords me, how this process inter-connects with other texts (Barnes & Duncan 1992;

[9] I have also toured in order to undertake study and research.

Duncan & Duncan 1988; Duncan 1990) and, how the conditions of this process inter-connect with it. I have also attended film classes which have focused on, ways of looking at film and, gender and genre, but am by no means what most would call a film buff. Like most people living in the UK however, I watch much more television than film and watch television news, films and dramas for information, interest and entertainment at home in the evenings (see Chapter Two). I am not loyal to one channel in particular and am much more conscious about my viewing for the reasons given above in relation to watching motion picture film. This experience has been inter-connected with my review of the literature in Chapter Two, has complemented my understanding of others' television viewing (discussed in Chapter Six) and anticipates the auto-ethnographical approach which I learned about at Bristol and adopt for some of the research methods utilized here (and which are documented in Chapters Four and Seven).

The Thesis

In order to produce knowledge which revealed how and why places depicted in television and film become so much more attractive to people, the processes and practices involved and, an understanding about the cultural sphere in which this takes place, I undertook a programme of research which utilized a variety of qualitative (and quantitative) methods and an auto-ethnographic approach. This part of the chapter maps out this programme of research; the thesis, which in addition to this introductory chapter constitutes seven chapters.

The second chapter, **Chapter Two: A Geography of Television Film** explores the complexity of the inter-connections existing between people, place and television film. It draws from a more substantial literature on film and a less substantial one on television produced by those researching in the academies of Geography, Film Studies,

[10] However, despite this, there is much that I find difficult about touring.

Sociology and Cultural Studies[11]. It begins by exploring television's relationship with individuals, society and culture and, focuses on this latter relationship. The chapter reveals that television film is an important and powerful agent in the production and consumption of culture more generally and, that tele-filmic places have an important and powerful agency in the production and consumption of place meanings more specifically. It also reveals how meaning may be intentionally constructed by the television film's production team and/or, be constructed in ways which are unintentional and derive from the processes associated with its production. The chapter goes on to investigate the dialogical inter-connection between these meanings and the people who consume them. Whilst it is understood that people are not passive and can either accept, negotiate or reject the meanings they encounter, television film is revealed to powerfully mediate its meanings. As such, it is proposed that television film has an important inter-connection with people's imagined and experienced geographies of place.

This thesis however is particularly concerned with geographies of place as realized by people's practice of tourism. **Chapter Three: A Geography of Tourism** thus contextualizes our understanding of people, place and television film with specific reference to tourism. It begins by defining tourism and situating it within a background of human movement and travel. It examines the importance of tourism to individuals, society and culture and, investigates tourism's agency as a (re)presenter and (re)producer of culture and meaning. It then goes on to explore processes and practices that are constitutive of the production and consumption of tourism and considers how television film inter-connects with them. The chapter reveals that television film constitutes an important part of a hermeneutic circle. As an antecedent text television film is found to inter-connect destination representations to tourists' actual experience by creating a set of expectations that the tourist industry is designed to accommodate and, to mediate people's practice of tourism before, during and following travel. The chapter concludes that television film is an important and powerful agent in the production and consumption of tourism meanings and as such, significantly implicated in the

[11] There is an emphasis on Anglo-American research throughout the thesis.

construction of people's imagined and experienced geographies of place as realized by their practice of tourism.

In order to determine whether the suppositions I make in the previous chapters translate into practice and to further define television film's inter-connections with people's imagined and experienced geographies of place as realized by their practice of tourism, I undertake a programme of field-work which I describe in **Chapter Four: Inter-Connecting Theory with Practice.** The chapter reveals why tourists provided me with the best means of accessing the knowledge I wanted, why I chose to work with Australian tourists travelling to the UK in particular and, how this research was undertaken. It describes the methods I utilize (and the series of semi-structured interviews in particular) and the difficulties I encounter performing them. The chapter also describes my collation of material and data relating to Australians' practice of tourism and television viewing and, my adoption of an auto-ethnographical approach which produces knowledge in relation to television viewing and the practice of tele-tourism undertaken by Australians (and, my more general use of this approach throughout the thesis). It concludes by critically evaluating whether the research programme I undertook achieved what it intended.

In contrast to Chapters Six and Seven which emphasize Australians' consumption of UK (tele)tourism, **Chapter Five: Australians, Tourism and Television Film** produces knowledge which is employed to investigate how (tele)tourism is produced for them and, that part of the hermeneutic circle (referred to in Chapter Three) which produces tourism meanings. It examines the significance of tourism for Australians, explores how tourism to the UK is specifically produced for them and focuses on the promotional practice of BTA Sydney. It then goes on to analyze the processes and practices involved and focuses on those that enrol motion picture film and television in particular and Australians' consumption of them. The chapter reveals that watching television and 'doing' tourism are significant cultural practices for Australians. It also reveals how film

and television are an important means by which BTA Sydney (re)produces the UK as a highly desirable place to tour to and Australians as tourists for it.

Chapter Six: Australians' Practice of (Tele)Tourism with Chapter Seven produces knowledge which is employed to investigate Australians' consumption of (tele)tourism. It gives a voice to some of those actually engaged in the practice of 'doing' tourism and begins by introducing the 51 Australian tourists I worked with. The chapter then goes on to present, describe and analyze *how* and *why* television film inter-connected with the Australians' practice of tourism in the UK before, during and following travel. It reveals what kinds of television film most significantly inter-connected with the Australians' practice of UK tourism, when and where television film inter-connected with their practice of UK tourism and, how and why this happened. It focuses on *how* and *why* television film is implicated in the production of their imagined geographies of the UK in particular and, begins to explore the mapping of these onto their experienced geographies of the UK. It concludes by emphasizing how television film depicting the UK screened in Australia powerfully reflects and (re)produces a culture and shared meanings, understandings and interpretations about the UK (and its people) which in turn become incorporated within the Australian tourists' everyday lives and expressed through signifying practices including their practice of tourism.

In contrast to Chapter Six, which emphasizes television film's inter-connection with people, (the Australian tourists), **Chapter Seven: An Auto-Ethnography of (Tele)Tourism** emphasizes television film's inter-connection with place (the UK). In order to do this, the chapter documents my own practice of tele-tourism which was anticipated by the Australian tourists in the previous chapter. It therefore critically examines contrasting tele-filmic material from that which was most frequently mentioned by the Australian tourists I worked with, that utilized the UK in an extensive way and, which importantly sponsored the Australian tourists' imagined geographies of the UK. It describes how I utilize an auto-ethnographical approach to chart how the geographies of the tele-filmic material inter-connect with my own and Australians'

imagined geographies of the UK and, how my own imagined geography of the places (re)produced by these selected tele-filmic types mapped onto my experienced geography of them. The chapter additionally explores how this tele-filmic material relates to the (re)production of the places that it depicts and analyzes relevant television viewing and visitor figures. The chapter concludes by revealing how the mapping of imagined geographies onto experienced geographies of place is a complex and dynamic process and, with specific reference to my own experience, quite unexpected. It also reveals the existence of a hermeneutic circle exclusively concerned with tele-tourism, where tele-tourism meanings are continually produced, consumed and *(re)*produced.

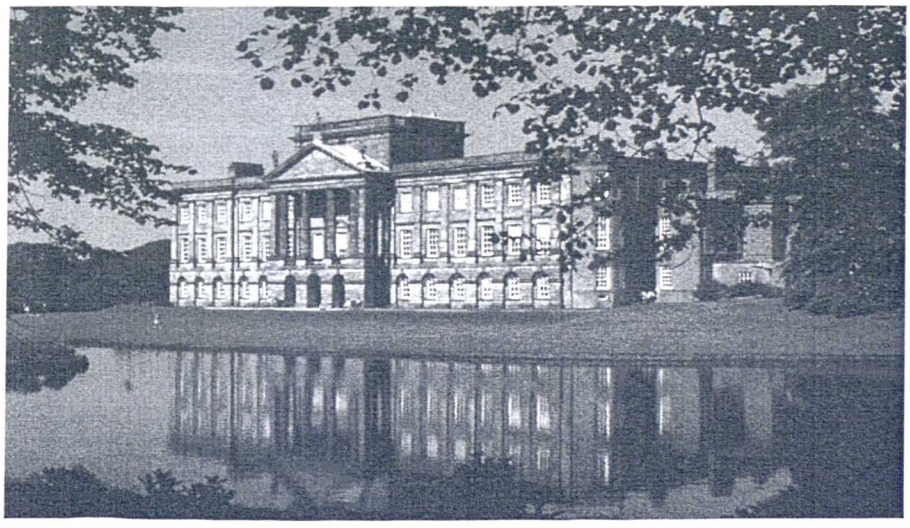
Whilst this thesis explores how and why television inter-connects with many processes and practices of tourism before, during and following travel, its inter-connection with some processes and practices continues to invite further examination. The final chapter, **Chapter Eight: Concluding Tele-Tourism**, therefore not only draws conclusions which specifically relate to the work I have undertaken but, delineates lacunae which necessitate further research. It in addition, critically appraises the way in which I undertook the programme of research mapped out here and, makes conclusions about television film's inter-connection with tourism more generally.

Chapter Two: A Geography of Television Film

Introduction

In 1995, the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC TV) was awarded the prestigious, "Outstanding Contribution to English Tourism Award" by the English Tourist Board (ETB) for its dramatization of Jane Austen's (1990 [1813]) *Pride & Prejudice* (Crombie & Bresh 1996). Following its screening during September and October 1995, visits to the National Trust's Lyme Park, Disley in Cheshire which featured as Mr Darcy's impressive Pemberley Hall (depicted in Figure 2.1) increased by 178% to 91 437 compared with 32 852 of the previous year. This represented the largest increase in visitor figures experienced by any country house open to the public in the UK (Crosbie 1996; Elliott 1996)[1]. And, as Chapter One revealed, other data too demonstrate that visits to and interest about places increase(s) following their appearance in film (Riley & Van Doren 1992a,b; Riley 1994; Riley *et al* 1998; Tooke 1994; Tooke & Baker 1996).

Figure 2.1: Lyme Park née Pemberley Hall, Disley, Cheshire



Source: National Trust (1995).

[1] See Chapter Seven for further detail.

Chapter One emphasized how the inter-connections between television film, people and place in the context of tourism are of significance. The significance of these inter-connections are furthermore being increasingly recognized by the UK's in-bound tourism industry which includes the BTA, national[2], regional[3] and local tourist organizations and tourist attractions and, evidenced in their respective campaigns of place promotion (see for example Appendices A, B and C). They are also recognized by the industry that promotes the UK and places within it as film locations which includes the British Film Commission (BFC) and a burgeoning number of city and regional film commissions and, evidenced in their bids for funding which acknowledge the indirect benefits associated with increased tourism following a place's appearance in film and their formal and informal associations with tourism organizations[4] [5]. However, whilst there is this more general recognition that the relationship between people, place and film in the context of tourism is of significance, Chapter One revealed that there is a paucity of academic research which recognizes this and/or examines *how* and *why* places become so much more attractive to people following their appearance on screen. This chapter thus begins to address this lacuna by exploring the complexity of the inter-connections existing between people, place and television film. This understanding is then contextualized in the following chapter which discusses these inter-connections with specific reference to tourism.

The geography of television film that I construct here draws from a more substantial literature on film and a less substantial one on television produced by those researching in the academies of Geography, Film Studies, Sociology and Cultural Studies. Geographers' work (which is not prolific) in particular emphasizes the motion picture film which MacCabe (1986) suggests is a reflection of our rejection of popular mass

[2] The ETB, Wales Tourist Board (WTB), Scottish Tourist Board (STB) and the Northern Ireland Tourist Board (NITB).
[3] There are 11 regional tourist boards in the UK.
[4] See the BFC's (1995) bid to the Department of National Heritage's Select Committee for funding which incorporates data collated by myself in earlier work (Tooke 1994; Tooke & Baker 1996).
[5] Whilst working in Kirklees Metropolitan Council's Department of Tourism I advised the Yorkshire & Humberside Screen Commission (YHSC) on possible film locations in the Kirklees area.

cultural forms in favour of high elite culture. This chapter however is essentially concerned with television film (especially that which depicts the UK) because the Australians I encountered whilst undertaking research for this thesis talked more about television series[6] and serials[7], and more specifically, Yorkshire Television (YTV)'s *Heartbeat,* BBC TV's *Pride & Prejudice* and a televized screening of *Remains of the Day* than any other kind of filmic material (and because of the reasons given in Chapter One)[8]. And whilst I take heed of Burgess' (1987) warning that concepts developed in the school of Film Studies can not simply be applied to television research, there are important concepts evolved through research on the motion picture film that make significant contributions to this chapter; we also of course watch motion picture films on television. In order therefore, to understand more about the relationship existing between people, place and television film, this chapter focuses on the three sets of inter-connections;

- **people and television** - this part of the chapter investigates the relationship existing between people and television film and comprises three sections. It begins by exploring the relationship television has with individuals, society and culture and then goes on to examine the production of television film. It discusses why television film is produced, who are involved in its production and what is intended by them, where this production takes place, what is actually produced and presented to people, how this production is undertaken and the significance of television as a (re)presenter and (re)producer of culture and meaning. It also investigates the consumption of television film and considers how television film is consumed and who consumes it, why it is consumed, where the consumption takes place, what is actually consumed, how this is undertaken and how we consume meanings encoded within tele-filmic material.

[6] A television series is a continuous set of filmic segments with no end in view (Ellis 1992).
[7] A television serial comprises a set of filmic segments with a certain narrative progression and a conclusion (Ellis 1992).
[8] See Chapter Seven for an examination of *Heartbeat, Pride & Prejudice* and *Remains of the Day.*

- **place and television** - this part of the chapter explores the part played by television in the complex cultural process through which meanings about places are produced. In order to do this, it investigates what kind of places are produced in television film, why particular places are produced, how their production is undertaken and the agency of tele-filmic place as a (re)presenter and (re)producer of meaning, discourse and culture.

- **people and tele-filmic place** - this part of the chapter considers the relationship existing between people and tele-filmic places. It focuses on how people consume tele-filmic places, the differences between tele-filmic and 'real' places, the relationship people have with place *in* and *on* film and, real and reel place inter-connections.

People and Television

In order to explore the inter-connections existing between people, place and television film it is important to gain an understanding of people's relationship with television film. This part of the chapter seeks to provide this understanding and includes three sections which debate the relationship television film has with society and culture and the production and consumption of television film. In so doing, it also serves to provide a theoretical framework for the research I undertook with Australian tourists (described in Chapters Five, Six and Seven).

Television, Society and Culture

> "Television has altered our world" (Williams 1990, p9).

Since its introduction into our homes in the 1950's, television has become an important part of the social fabric which constitutes our routine daily experience (Moores 1997), is "the stuff of everyday conversation" (Ellis 1992, pviii) in the home, workplace and school, is intricately woven into the rhythm of our lives (Moores 1997) and is embedded

in the multiple discourses of everyday life (Silverstone 1994). It, "shape[s] individuals' understanding of themselves and of others, as well as affecting their everyday practices and relationships" (Hörschelmann 1997, p31). Its impact on us is thus important. Being exposed to television can affect what we do, what we think about and how and why we think and feel about a variety of phenomena. Commercial television stations recognize this and sell the air time and space between television programmes to advertizers on the assumption that people's viewing of television affects their consumer behaviour in particular (see later discussion on advertizing in this chapter). These effects are exclusive to the individual concerned as the meanings and potency of television are mediated by circumstances relating to them specifically as individuals, the conditions of viewing and the social and cultural worlds to which they belong. Watching television also impacts more generally on society and is exemplified by television's mediation of the O J Simpson trial (Kennedy & Lukinbeal 1997), the Gulf War, the fall of the Berlin Wall, the Beijing massacre and the Black Monday stock market (Wark 1994).

A major avenue for television research centres on its effects on people and is documented widely in academic and non academic literatures (Burgess 1987; Williams 1990, Ellis 1992). It typically directs its attentions on issues relating to sex, violence, political manipulation and cultural degradation and is criticized by some including Williams (1990) who observes that, "its merely descriptive and assumptive use is a way of avoiding the true sociology of communications, yet it is orthodox over a very wide range and in theories and studies which are otherwise sophisticated" (p121). The research also frequently identifies television in isolation from the social and cultural processes in which it (and the issues the research connects it with) is part of and in so doing encourages people to consider television's effects in a limited or misleading way. Other research however, contextualizes the effects of television on people by processes and practices relating to the culture in which they occur. Williams' (1990) research for example relates effects to television's real intentions; those declared by the television institutions themselves and, assumed and indifferent general social processes.

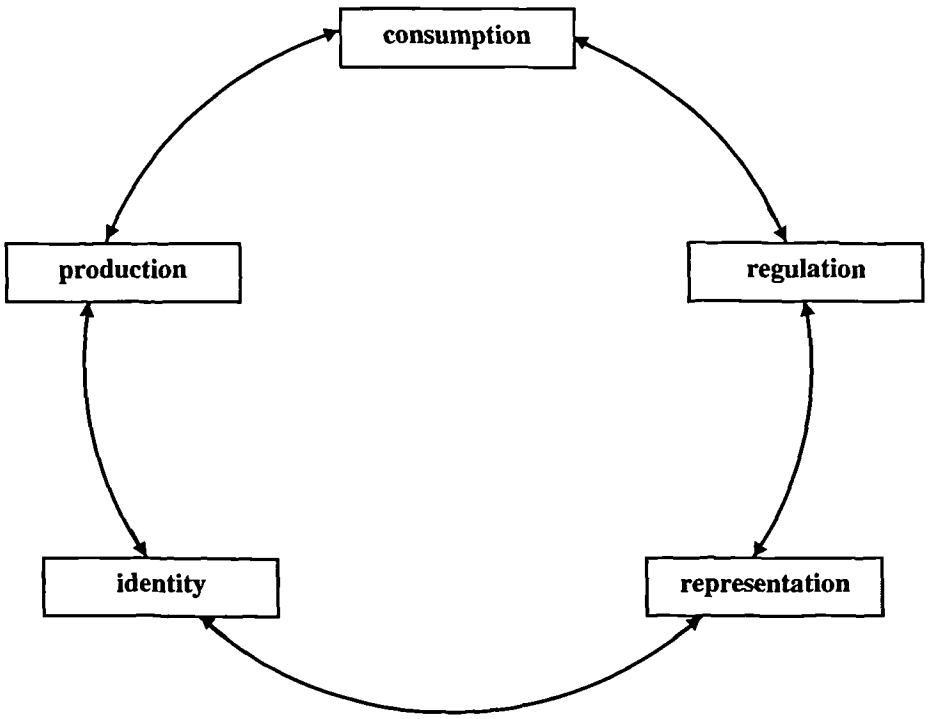
This thesis is very concerned with the effects associated with people watching television but, rather than the direct links sought by research concerning its effects, is more concerned with how television relates to culture, shared meanings and discourses. Academic research relating to television film's relationship with culture has two main foci. Some academics stress film's agency as a reflector of culture. Natter & Jones (1993) for example describe Michael Moore's *Roger & Me* as an incisive commentary reflecting the dismantling of the Fordist social contract in the US, Harvey (1989) similarly considers Ridley Scott's *Blade Runner* and Wim Wender's *Himmel über Berlin*, (*Wings of Desire*) as metaphors for postmodern conflicts set in a context of flexible accumulation and time-space compression and, Benton (1995) argues that popular film is an integral part of the portrayal of cultural landscape.

hooks' (1996) research however is more typical of the other focus. Her work reveals how motion picture film does not merely offer people the opportunity to re-imagine the culture they most intimately know on screen but, how film actually produces culture. Hall (1997) similarly understands television to not just reflect culture but to actually construct and circulate its meaning. He describes television as a representation; that is a central and signifying practice which produces culture and, an essential part of the process by which meaning is produced and exchanged between members of a culture. However, whilst television, "retains a special place within the social discourse of the nation" (Ellis 1992, p281) its (re)production of culture is highly selective (Hall 1980). This chapter thus emphasizes how television (rather like the processes and practices associated with the production of tourism discussed in Chapter Three) have more to do with the creation and the sustainment of specific ideological meanings in modern society rather than direct action upon individuals.

Du Gay *et al* (1997) discuss culture being circuitous and identify five major cultural processes; representation, identity, production, consumption and regulation which together form constitutive elements and are illustrated in Figure 2.2[9].

[9] See also Johnson (1986), Burgess (1990) and Squire (1994a).

Figure 2.2: Du Gay *et al*'s (1997) Circuit of Culture



Source: Du Gay *et al* (1997).

In order to explore the inter-connections existing between television film, people and place it is important to have an understanding of how television film makes contributions to each of these five major cultural processes. Whilst this chapter highlights processes of production and consumption; that is, the production and consumption of television film and tele-filmic places, it concomitantly discusses phenomena relating to processes of identity, representation and regulation.

The Production of Television Film

Harvey (1989) is much criticized by his compatriots in the academy for his observation that film is just a, "spectacle projected within an enclosed space on a depthless screen" (p308), (Aitken & Zonn 1993; Clarke 1994). The next two sections of this part also

reveal that film (and television more specifically) is clearly about much more than this in their exploration of the production and consumption of television film with specific reference to the UK. This particular section however focuses on production; that is, why television film is produced, who are involved in its production and what is intended by them, where this production takes place, what is actually produced and presented to people and how this production is undertaken. The discussion furthermore focuses on television and the ways in which it produces culture. It describes how and why television film is such an important repository of shared values and meanings and how these are intentionally and unintentionally situated in powerful discourses which reflect and (re)produce culture.

The invention of television in the UK depended upon a complex of inventions and developments and, following a hiatus in production during the Second World War (1939-1945) became more widely available to the public in the 1950's. Under the political auspices of security and integrity of nationstate the BBC was formed in 1922 and granted a monopoly to transmit and produce programmes, a royal charter and continues to be financed by the sale of licences for receivers. Since the Independent Television Act of 1954, the public service definition of the BBC has been successfully challenged by a commercial network, now known as the Independent Television Association which also owns its means of transmission and contracts for the provision of programmes from a number of regional companies. Since this time and The Broadcasting Act of 1990, the right to broadcast under the ITV frequencies has been auctioned to interested commercial organizations[10]. Two new independent television channels, Channels 4 and 5 were established in 1982 and 1997 respectively, and technological developments in satellite, cable and more recently digital television have prompted the generation of new channels which transmit and/or produce television film. Funding for these independent channels is obtained by the selling of advertizement time and space, sponsorship and/or subscription payments from viewers.

[10] These companies' existence is rigidly governed by industry standards and the core values of quality and diversity. The ITC (Independent Television Commission) also ensure that a strong regional service is provided.

The tele-visual material produced by these television companies reflects and (re)produces the public authority and state of the former and the corporate political and economic interests of the latter. The commercial television networks' key objective is the maximization of profit. In order to achieve this end they in effect commodify their audiences which are sold on to advertizers and sponsors. The production, scheduling and marketing of their television film is therefore driven by the need to generate specific audience types or segments of quantity and varying qualities upon which advertizing time and space can be sold. Research is undertaken to establish audience quantity and quality utilizing a number of methods undertaken by market research agencies and collated by organizations including Broadcasters' Audience Research Board (BARB)[11].

However, television film not only reflects and (re)produces the corporate cultures of the channels, companies and networks involved in its production and funding. It additionally reflects and (re)produces the culture of those people employed by them. Whilst some television film is produced in-house by permanent staff employed by transmitting channels, much is produced by production companies and/or individuals who work on a self-employed basis. Most specialize in a few areas of production and are described by Ellis (1992) as exemplifying "post-Fordist industrial strategy" (p271). Those involved in television production are described by Worpole (1986) as being, "professional middle and upper-class, white, mostly male, and recruited through family or class connections" (p64). Coward (1997) talks rather disparagingly about television production's "macho, leather jacketed men" (p38) and Ellis (1992) comments on the over inflated sense of importance that many people who work in television have. The tele-visual material produced by these types of people represents and (re)produces a culture exclusive and celebrative of themselves and their own interests and as such is ideological and hegemonically divisive (Rose 1994). The technical distribution between receivers and transmitters reflects the social division of labour into producers and

[11] These methods include questionnaires, electronic set meters and diary entries in chosen households and a people meter which combines both. Moores (1997) anticipates the introduction in the not so distant

consumers, monopoly capital/monopolistic bureaucracy on the one hand and the dependent masses on the other (Enzensberger 1970). This control of class continues to generate concern which Rose (1994) traces back to the 1970's.

Whilst the meaning encoded within television film is (re)produced by the frameworks of knowledge, technical infrastructures and the relations of production within broadcasting organizations (Hall 1980), television film additionally represents and (re)produces the culture of where it is produced. Although much of the television programming screened in the UK is produced here and has a very strong British house style (Ellis 1992), production is becoming increasingly internationalized[12]. Whilst British TV exports accounted for £234 million in 1996, British TV channels purchased far more television products than were actually sold (Clarke 1998). The US sell more television programmes than any other nation (Clarke 1998) and currently dominate and determine television film production (Williams 1990). Much academic discussion of the Americanization of television film production is presented in negative terms. Mackay (1997) for example describes Americanism as a spectre in his discussion of how authentic, varied and locally distinctive cultural forms are being swamped by a degenerate, inauthentic, homogenous North American culture.

The type of television film produced is also importantly implicated in the production of meanings and culture. Whilst television film production has to meet certain legislative requirements it is essentially about meeting the needs and wants of a generalized mass audience and the creation of products which entertain, educate, inform, discuss and encourage audience loyalty. Some programmes however are produced for more specific audience segments but are frequently screened at marginal hours. Other television channels may specialize in the transmission of just one kind of television form like for example sporting events, motion picture films or news bulletins as is exemplified by the Sky Channels and the Cable News Network (CNN).

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future of a passive people meter, a surveillance device which is placed inside the television receiver to record viewer behaviour.

Today's television proffers a whole host and variety of tele-visual filmic products; news bulletins, American and Australian soap opera, natural history, comedy, series, serials, 'cinema', cookery, political discussion, chat shows, education, travelogues and games shows. The series and serial constitute a significant proportion of the material screened and are advantageous to programme planners in that they can fill a time slot for a run of weeks and encourage attachment to a given station or channel. They are characterized by the rapid alternation between scenes, the frequent return to habitual locations and situations and pay a high proportion of dramatic attention to crime and illness. They have (until recently[13]) typically addressed themselves to a generalized audience conceived of as nuclear families in a domestic setting and give precedence to an equivalent series of cultural preoccupations; heterosexual romance, (often precluding any consideration of other forms of loving as anything other than comic exceptions or personal tragedy), stability of marriage, notions of masculine careers and feminine domesticity, the conception of childhood innocence and the division of the world in public and private spheres (Williams 1990). Meaning is thus produced (in a similar way to the tourist brochures of Chapters Three and Five) by the repetition of certain definitions and areas of concern and the neglect of others, by the creation of specific areas or modalities of meanings and by the way the viewer is placed in particular attitudes to events. Television perceives and defines events and their meaning for a particular form of comprehension and in so doing produces a particular form of point of view for the spectator. From the constitution of such a position comes all the possibilities for bias towards particular interests and against others and the massive investment in particular forms of subject matter both in fiction and non fiction (Ellis 1992).

How these tele-visual products are communicated to people is furthermore significant to the production of meaning. In order to communicate tele-visual products to people

[12] Some of the UK's large budget dramas and natural history programmes are increasingly being funded by overseas broadcasters who have a commensurate input into the television film's production (Clarke 1998).
[13] See *Coronation Street*'s and *EastEnders*'s depiction of 'alternative' romances for example.

effectively producers employ certain notions, techniques and narrative styles. Television typically conforms to notions of realism and is seen (together with motion picture film) by some (including the Australian tourists of Chapter Six) to constitute a more superior reality than other representative forms[14] [15] [16]. In order to achieve a real effect, a variety of forms of artifice (including artificial lighting, montage, make-up, costume and rigged sets and shots) are used by producers of fiction and documentary film and explored by Burgess & Unwin (1984) and Wilson (1992) respectively. Television film's success ultimately lies in its illusion, a combination of photography and motion[17] enhanced by the continuous evolvement of technologies; sound, colour, stereo, Dolby, deep focus, wide screen, multi camera operation and digital television.

In addition to conforming to notions of realism the communication of television film is distinguished by other assumptions made about its consumption. Producers of television film can not assume the same level of attention as cinema, given the site of consumption, the home and its multiple distractions. Television therefore has developed specific forms of organization and narration of its material. Material is organized into segments and scheduled for transmission so that they coincide with particular supposed events in the everyday life of the family. Ellis (1992) characterizes television by a succession of segments, discrete segments of images and sounds whose maximum duration is about five minutes and grouped into either a cumulative fashion as with news items and advertizements or have some kind of repetitive or sequential connection as with a serial or series[18].

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[14] Which may in part be because of the authority our society places upon sight as opposed to other senses and because filmic images move. See also Chapter Six for the way in which Australian tourists emphasize what they *see.*

[15] Others disagree! See Jameson (1992).

[16] Realism can be understood in terms of both form and content. Film which is realist in form is designed in a way which emulates our perceived experience of life. Time for example might be arranged sequentially and narrative may follow conventions which audiences have come to accept often on a subconscious level. Film which is realist in content may involve the film depicting a contemporary setting, representing the lives and activities of ordinary people and life as it actually is (Monaco 1981).

[17] Metz (1990) talks about how motion increases the sense of objective reality by creating a sense of "live" "real" action, a corporeality and a visual experience of motion similar to that experienced in the real world.

[18] Williams (1990) in contrast talks about television averaging and unifying out the various programme forms to produce a kind of montage without overall meaning that severely comprises and alters the separate texts that have been manufactured. He views television as a context that reduces the texts'

Sound is of particular importance to the communication of television film to its audience. It can always be heard and radiates in all directions whereas the viewing of television images is frequently restricted. Sound in the form of music, laughter, speech and recorded noises is therefore designed to ensure a certain level of attention and to entice the viewer's glance back to the screen and unlike cinema, acts as a major carrier of information, a major means of ensuring continuity and consistent attention and a significant anchor of meaning. The communication of television film is further characterized by its ordinariness and friendliness, a conversationalization of public discourse (Moores 1997) and, gives the impression of transmitting a live perpetual present, part of the texture of everyday life. The narration of fictional programmes owes much to non-fictional modes and exemplified by the open ended series format which like the news bulletin endlessly updates events and never synthesizes them (Ellis 1992)[19]. The communication of television film is also characterized by the employment of repetition which generates a familiarity and immediate recognition. The audience is addressed directly by personalities and presenters (who hold direct eye contact with their viewers) and whose faces appear the same size as their own generating feelings of equality and friendship.

Our glance, question and behaviour becomes delegated to the television set. There is not the voyeuristic separation that is experienced with cinema, rather a complicity is produced so that events are presented as another space beyond the broadcast television institution and the viewer's home. People together with their television sets can meet with others and tour unfamiliar climes and phenomena on virtual journeys in the comfort of their own homes. Another world is (re)produced in a familiar and familial way to combat difficulties associated with journeys away from familiar and fixed boundaries and has much in common with the 'other' worlds (re)produced by much tourism practice (and discussed in Chapter Three);

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separation from each other and argues that "[f]low, is then perhaps the defining characteristic of broadcasting, simultaneously as a technology and as a cultural form" (p86).

> "an otherness that is under control, a comforting otherness, an otherness that has been domesticated" (MacCannell (on tourism) 1996, p15).

Television film also provides the opportunity to be able to look at difference without experientially engaging with it (hooks 1996)[20]. This "telethesia" or, perception at a distance (Wark 1994) reinforces a sense of detachment and isolation from the people and places portrayed and in so doing constitutes the viewer as normal and the world looked upon as abnormal (Ellis 1992). Television thus places the viewer in a position of power over that which is viewed whether it be animals, people and/or places and as such 'others' them (Aitken 1994a; Hörschelmann 1997).

Clearly much of the meaning represented and (re)produced by television film is intentionally constructed (and most obviously evidenced by television advertizing). Producers of television film endeavour through their rhetoric of image and sound to (re)produce people as viewers who interpret encoded meanings as intended (Burgess 1990). Each element of the film's diegisis; that is, the signified or represented content of a narrative that can be perceived visually and aurally, is selected by the production team to affect intended meanings constitutive of a more general preconceived geography. Each individual shot is designed to produce meanings or manufacture symbolic goods (Moores 1997) which become encoded within the filmic material[21]. Meanings are thus constructed, transmitted and received by the television receiver in the form of visual images and sound and generate meaning by operating symbolically and functioning to convey a whole manner of concepts, ideas and emotions.

However, in addition to the meaning intentionally encoded within television film, much meaning situated in powerful discourses is represented and (re)produced in ways which are not intended. This derives essentially from the processes associated with its

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[19] Ellis (1992) observes that this is perhaps the central contribution television has made to the long history of narrative forms.

[20] The word "tele-vision" means viewing at a distance.

[21] Burgess (1987) usefully delineates two sets of choices in encoding meaning which the producer makes; **paradigmatic** - choices which relate to the framed image itself, what the shot should be and how it is shot

production which have been discussed here; why it is produced, who produced it, who funded it, what their intentions are, where the production takes place, what type of film is communicated to the viewer and how this communication takes place. These meanings are also further shaped by the current political preoccupations of society and ongoing cultural concerns (Godfrey 1993). As such, television acts as,

> "a gatekeeper. It has an intellectual and emotional importance in society because it admits ideas and individuals whether in dramatic scenarios or in factual programming, into the general social discourse of the nation" (Ellis 1992, p282).

In so doing, television film (re)produces powerful cultural constructs about the nature of normal human existence and makes the assumption that viewers' hold a common frame of (white, masculine, middle-class, heterosexual and abled) reference. Meanings "appear as common sense, as the taken-for-granted, a kind of natural horizon to life, beyond which anything is unthinkable" (Ellis 1992, p14); their impartiality masks their essentially undemocratic nature (Rose 1994). Television film is a mediation of social knowledge, reinforces ideological constructions of the status quo and is an active agent of hegemony (Rose 1994; Hopkins 1994). Indeed, it is understood by some to be a "powerful form of social integration and control. Many of its main uses can be seen as socially, commercially and at times politically manipulative" (Williams 1990, p23)[22] and to participate in the construction of narratives for specific discourses of race, gender and class (Mulvey 1975; Pollock 1977; Neale 1983; hooks 1996). The messages conveyed about places and peoples is highly selective and often insidious in that what is offered is ideologically based and supportive of certain sets of values and interests (Youngs & Jenkins 1984).

This section of the chapter has thus provided an understanding of why television film is such an important repository of intended and unintended shared values and meanings and how these are situated in powerful discourses which (re)produce meaning.

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and, **syntagmatic** - choices which relate to how the shot is presented in relation to other shots which precede and follow it, the grammar of the film.

However, in order to understand more about how television film inter-connects with people we need to know more than just how television film and its meanings are produced. The next section of the chapter therefore examines how people consume television film and the meanings and culture therein. In so doing, it also considers the other place produced by television film, the place off screen constitutive of the many people who watch television and described by Adams (1992) as a place without location, a placeless place[23].

The Consumption of Television Film

> "[W]e become what we consume" (Mackay 1997, p2).

> "while audiences are clearly not passive and are able to pick and choose, it is simultaneously true that there are certain 'received' messages that are rarely mediated by the will of the audience..... they have power over us and we have no power over them" (hooks 1996, p3).

In order to investigate the power described by hooks (1996) and to further our understanding of the relationship between television film and people this section explores the consumption of television film and the meanings and culture therein. It considers how television film is consumed and who consumes it, why it is consumed, where the consumption takes place, what is actually consumed, how this is undertaken and how we consume the meanings embedded within the tele-filmic text.

Tele-visual products are transmitted from television stations, received via transmitters, aerials, radio waves, satellites and dishes or cable and televized via television receivers onto screens. They can also be recorded onto video-tape and viewed with the use of a VCR and television receiver providing the viewer with a different kind of viewing

[22] Williams (1990) makes some interesting comments on Goebbels' use of radio and interest in television for the propaganda of Nazism in Germany.

[23] Adams (1992) does not deny the importance of location to the traditional concept of place but points out the decreasing importance of location in the structuring of social life and the construction of meaningful human experiences.

experience[24]. In 1995, 97% of all UK households, (22 295 000) possessed at least one television set. A furthermore 97% of these households possessed a colour television set, 52% possessed more than one television set and 74% possessed a VCR (BARB 1997).

These figures demonstrate that ownership of colour television sets in the UK has virtually reached a saturation point (BARB 1997). In 1993-1994, watching television (and not undertaking another activity at the same time) was the most popular home-based leisure activity for both men and women of all ages and in 1995 watching television and listening to the radio (and not undertaking another activity at the same time) was recorded as the most popular use of free time with people spending on average 19 hours a week on these activities[25] (Central Statistical Office 1996). However, whilst demonstrating that watching television was the most popular pastime for people at leisure in the home these figures only include people who were not doing anything else simultaneously; many people of course are exposed to much television when undertaking other activities.

Table 2.1: Average Weekly Hours of Television Viewing - 1994

Channel	Individuals	Adults	Women	Men	Children
Total TV	25.19	26.69	28.34	24.81	18.36
BBC1	8.16	8.72	9.19	8.19	5.60
BBC2	2.66	2.94	2.74	3.16	1.42
ITV	9.94	10.58	12.02	8.96	7.03
C4	2.71	2.81	2.94	2.66	2.28
Other	1.72	1.65	1.45	1.84	2.03

Source: BARB (1997).

[24] The video resembles a book more in terms of access (Burgess 1987) and encourages a greater sophistication in viewing habits, both in choice of material and in the ability to review and skip segments (Ellis 1992).

[25] Those over 60 years of age spent more time watching the television or listening to the radio than younger people (Central Statistical Office 1996).

Table 2.1 thus demonstrates that in 1994, people on average watched 25.19 hours of television a week. The table also shows that women viewed more television than men, that adults view more television than children and that ITV was the most popular channel, although it has been more recently documented as losing viewers to the cable and satellite networks (Radio 4 1997).

Whilst data of this kind is useful in that it quantifies what is going on, (most people living in the UK watch television) is institutionally enabling and can be compared to the data relating to Australians' consumption of television film (in Chapter Five), it does not qualify the viewing experience and offers us little information on what is happening when people watch television and what meaning they gain from the experience. This data is furthermore epistemologically limited and misrepresentative of people's consumption of television film (Ang 1991, 1992). The next part of this section therefore attempts to qualify people's inter-connection with television.

Most of us living in the UK watch television and do so for a number of reasons. We may want to view television to inform ourselves about national and international news, to find out about future weather conditions, to be distracted, to be entertained or to relax. We may also just have the television on whilst undertaking other activities and not be consciously engaged with what is on screen. Why and where we consume television film, the site of reception and who we are with when consuming it has an important impact on our consumption of it and its meanings. Whilst we are exposed to television film in all kinds of places; schools, shops, pubs, hospitals and aeroplanes, we are most likely to view television film when we are at home alone, with family members and/or friends. The household's main television set is typically situated in the sitting room or lounge and often has a prominent position in contrast to the other items of furniture. Switching the television on can demonstrate the initiation of a shared activity or act as a means of avoiding communication with others. It is also an interesting indicator of power relations. The locus of perceived and actual control over programme choice lies typically with the father whereas the mother has the least choice; where there is a clash

in taste the masculine preference will prevail (Lull 1990). However, women may take the opportunity to view alone when the rest of the family are elsewhere (Morley 1988).

In contrast to the cinema, the television viewing experience is less spectacular[26]. We usually view television film with the lights on, sound quality is poorer and even the Sony liquid crystal display rear projection television screen at 50 inches is dwarfed by the screen of the cinema. We incur less decision making, effort and financial expenditure when we watch television and quite happily talk, move about and perform other activities whilst television film is being screened. The viewer is thus typically distracted by competing claims for their attention, namely, other people and pastimes, claims which may explain most people's preference for television's inferior immediate technology (as opposed to that of the cinema). As such, the viewing experience is less totalizing and a casual rather than an intense experience. Watching television film is often described by viewers as 'relaxation' and suggestive of a process demanding small concentrated attention (Ellis 1992).

What type of television film programme we consume is also important for our understanding of people's consumption of television film. Table 2.2 demonstrates how the type of television programme watched by people living in the UK varies with age. Other factors in addition to age have a relationship with what we choose to watch, our gender (Gledhill 1997)[27], socio-economic background, colour (Wittstock 1998) and culture will also serve to determine what tele-filmic material appeals to us. Overall however, television drama was the most frequently watched type of television programme and is supported by viewing figures for television series and serials like *Coronation Street* and *Middlemarch* available from BARB and more generally[28].

[26] See Acland (1998) on Imax cinema.
[27] Moores (1997) discusses gendered identifications with different genres of broadcast but reminds us how identification is always socially constructed and historically contingent. Ang (1995) introduces the concept of emotional realism in response to her research where she found respondents who demonstrated an empathy and vicarious identification to characters and situations in the American television series *Dallas*. She suggests that this melodramatic imagination is a predominantly feminine recognition.
[28] Phillips *et al* (1999) furthermore find that rural drama in particular is the most popular form of television in the UK frequently attracting audiences of over 7 million and in some cases twice that.

Chapter Six also finds that television drama was the most popular tele-filmic type for the Australian tourists I worked with. Television drama's popularity lies in what it depicts and how it is depicted. Television dramas, series and serials overwhelmingly concern themselves with notions of the domestic. They typically centre their narratives on characters in identifiable domestic settings, situations, encounters and relationships. Programmes become instantly recognizable, highly familiar, the characters become like friends and dilemmas are repeated and never resolved.

Table 2.2: Type of Television Programme Watched by Age - 1994

Programme Type	4-15	16-24	25-34	35-44	45-54	55-64	65+	Total
Drama	19	28	28	26	25	23	24	25
Light Entertainment	20	19	18	18	17	16	17	18
Films	13	17	16	17	17	16	12	15
Documentaries & Features	7	11	13	13	14	15	15	13
News	6	6	8	10	11	13	14	11
Sport	7	10	10	10	11	12	13	11
Children's	25	6	4	3	2	1	1	5
Other	3	3	3	3	2	3	4	3
Total	**100**	**100**	**100**	**100**	**100**	**100**	**100**	**100**

Source: Central Statistical Office (1996).

The type of person we are and the contextual discourses derived from our social formation are critical to our consumption of television as are the historical conditions that mark such a constitution (Staiger 1992). The reasons we choose to view television film, where we do this and what is consumed also have important ramifications on how we consume television film and how meaning is gained from the experience. What is more difficult to determine however, is exactly what happens to people when they are exposed to television film and the meanings they gain from watching television[29]. This

[29] In his work on representations more generally, Hall (1997) delineates three approaches to how meaning can be understood; **reflective** - how effective it is in reflecting the 'real' world, **intentional** - how effective it is at expressing what the producer wants to convey and, **constructionist** - the meaning constructed in and through language.

next section therefore explores relevant research which provides an understanding of this and focuses on issues relating to reality, semiotics, discourse analysis and people's sense of identity.

People frequently discuss, judge and validate tele-visual filmic material (in common with other texts) in terms of how successful it is at (re)producing what is conventionally understood by the term "reality" (what we experience in everyday life) or, in the case of television film which incorporates a fantasy element a reality exclusive to the film concerned where an illusion is created of happenings which appear as if they could really happen in real life, a hyper-reality[30]. British television for example was rated very highly by the Australians I worked with because of its ability to be so 'realistic'. Failure to conform to notions of reality generates concerns which are often given voice on programmes like BBC TV's *Points of View*. Given however, that filmic material clearly affords such a different experience to that which is experienced in the everyday it seems somewhat curious to apply notions of naturalism to its creation (Easthope 1993).

Television film becomes so much a part of our lives that the reel and real can become difficult for people to differentiate. Characters in television series become confused with the people who play their parts (Ellis 1992). They may also be mistaken for real people when the people who play them are encountered for real[31]. Reel drama too may become real as live experience becomes displaced by mediated experience. Events in soap operas in particular can prompt powerful reactions from the viewing public (Hilpern 1998) as has been exemplified by the controversy generated by the incarceration of *Coronation Street's* Deidre Rachid in prison. We may also shape our reality to mimic media images (Thompson 1995). Television discourses are selectively and reflexively appropriated by viewers as they monitor their lifestyles or interpersonal relationships.

[30] See Nelmes (1996).

[31] I have on occasion encountered some of the actors from BBC1's popular television series *Casualty* which is filmed in Bristol and greeted them as friends.

> "Judging our social interactions and place relationships against media representation may affect our daily behaviour. We may incorporate what we see in film into our lives. When that occurs we have become dramaturgy - a product of the representation. Life is then not only judged by staged productions - film and other media - but also our very concerns and actions in turn construct and become social productions" (Kennedy & Lukinbeal 1997, p39).

People may also use television as a means in which they can validate their own lives and action, "if re-presentations become stand-ins for actual lived experience then reality becomes a staged, social production, or, at the very least, the real is judged against its staged, cinematic counterpoint" (Aitken & Zonn 1993, p192). However, reality and notions associated with it are not the only way people gain meaning from television film. Hall (1997) highlights two constructionist theories; semiotics and discourse analysis, as means to understand more about how we derive meaning from tele-visual material. They are examined here and utilized by myself later here in order to analyze parts from *Heartbeat*, *Pride & Prejudice* and *Remains of the Day* (see Chapters Four and Seven).

Once film theory had moved from debate focusing on realism and formalism, film theorists[32] customized theories of semiotics or semiology, terms attributed to the American pragmatic philosopher Peirce (1839-1914) and Saussure (1857-1913) respectively and which referred to the production of signs and/or how meaning is created for them. Peirce discriminated many sign typologies, one of which focused on the relationships between signs and objects represented; **iconic** - where the sign resembles the object it stands for, **indexical** - where the sign may have a causal relation to its object and, **symbolic** - where the relationship between sign and object is purely arbitrary (Pharies 1985). Like Metz (1990), Peirce held that photography had both an iconic and indexical relationship with what it represented. He believed that photography resembled its object and was caused by its object as it was actually produced by the impact of light-rays reflected from the object striking light sensitive film. Film too was thought to have this iconic and indexical relation with reality but was felt by some like Peter Wollen to be symbolic as well because of its utilization of speech and writing (Stam *et al* 1992).

[32] Like for example, Umberto Eco, Pier Paolo Pasolini and Christian Metz.

Saussure (1916) theorized that language consisted of signs, words that had meaning for groups of people and introduced two essential elements in his discourse of the synchronic; **langue** - the system of language permitting people to create sentences of meaning according to various rules and, **parole** - that which is uttered by people. He also revived a distinction between the **signifier** - the sound image, the **signified** - the mental concept to which it refers and, the **sign** - the associative total. Saussure's semiological theory suggests that the images and sounds of televized filmic material can be seen as a continuous stream of signifiers mediated by the viewer to become that which is signified. Television film can thus function as an iconic, indexical and symbolic sign and can be understood as a language weaving together visual images and sound operating in a system which makes it possible. Signature tunes, computerized graphics, announcements, objects and presenters' intonation all serve to signify something else and, we quickly learn what by continual exposure to television film. However, semiology depends upon the existence of a society or group for whom and whose system of belief the signs have meaning. In order to understand the meanings offered by television people need to understand the processes of signification and the codes, (the rules of the game) which draw from frameworks of knowledge, cultural competencies and technical possibilities and have to be recognized and understood by both producers and consumers of television film (Burgess 1987; Higson 1987)[33].

Discourse analysis provides a more complete understanding of the discursive formations to which television film and its meanings belong in a way which can not be achieved by only examining notions of realism and semiological theory. The meanings encoded within television film are produced in knowledge and regulated by the discursive practices and disciplinary techniques specific to our society and which change with time. Meanings are thus always historically and culturally specific and meaningless outside the specific discourse concerned. Television plays a very important rôle as a dialogical agent between cultural participants and enables the production of a culture of shared

[33] See Burgess & Wood's (1988) semiotic analysis of television advertizements.

understandings and interpretations of the world. Hall's (1973) model of encoding and decoding in television discourse deals principally with the ideological dimensions of broadcasting. It draws partly on semiology but also on accounts of social structure and cultural (re)production from the sociological tradition. It seeks to explain how television texts are constructed to prefer particular dominant readings and how readers engage with the encoded meanings presented to them. Hall surmises that varied class positions and cultural knowledges of viewers are likely to generate different responses and interpretations and identifies three hypothetical positions from which the decodings of a television film might be made; **dominant** - an acceptance of the preferred reading, **negotiated** - a limited challenge to it and **oppositional** - a rejection of the dominant definitions on offer. This conceptual framework is utilized by Morley (1980) for his research on BBC1's *Nationwide* audience. However, he finds it to be too constraining and formulates a more genre based model of consumption which focused on the salience of particular types of text for particular sorts of reader and the cultural competencies necessary for viewers to understand and enjoy various genres of broadcast[34] (Morley 1981).

At the same time, the ways in which people engage with television film meanings impacts upon their sense of identity. Interesting research has been undertaken on how meanings consumed in the private sphere are part of a shared meaning from which people can gain a sense of belonging to a local community, national culture and more public sphere. Moores' (1997) research reveals how television (rather like tourism) connects the private sphere of the home with various public worlds mediating our senses of personal and collective identity and echoes Giddens' (1990, 1991) theory of modernity which seeks to explain how self identity is inextricably bound up with large scale institutional and technological transformations. The more recent tele-technological development in particular has melted down the more traditional boundaries of community and nation and promoted a trend towards transnationalization or

[34] Moores (1997) talks about how pleasure and displeasure have been investigated as complex social accomplishments.

globalization of media and audiences and a new sense of place and space (Morley & Robins 1995, Morley & Robins 1999).

This part of the chapter more generally has discussed research which has illuminated our understanding of television film's inter-connection with people. However, this thesis is specifically concerned with the relationship existing between people, place and television film. In order therefore to understand more about this relationship the next parts of the chapter map our understanding of the production and consumption of television film onto an understanding of how tele-filmic places are produced and consumed.

Place and Television

"Place is at the heart of film-making as well as film-viewing" (Wollen 1980, p25).

Television film produces its own places within the tele-visual space presented to us on our television screen and constitutes an integral part of the complex cultural process through which meanings about these places are produced. In order to explore how and why television film produces place and place meanings, this part of the chapter investigates what kind of places are produced in television film, why particular places are produced and how their production and meanings about them is undertaken. This examination furthermore provides knowledge about why tele-filmic places are important repositories of shared values and meanings and how these are intentionally and unintentionally situated in powerful discourses which reflect and (re)produce culture. It furthermore, also produces knowledge which provides a theoretical framework for my analysis of tele-filmic places in Chapters Six and Seven.

This part of the chapter emphasizes research undertaken by geographers on place and film. Whilst most of this work examines motion picture films, it is felt that their

discussion usefully contributes to an understanding of tele-filmic place. However, this research on film is not prolific (either) which given its importance to people, place and space is perhaps rather surprising (Burgess 1990; Clarke 1994). This neglect of film is documented as being part of a general disregard for representation of, as opposed to, the material conditions or reality of social life (Natter & Jones 1993; Aitken 1994a; Aitken & Zonn 1993, 1994; Kennedy & Lukinbeal 1997). Natter & Jones (1993) point out that geographers should strive to overcome the rigid distinction between the real and representation and believe the two to be dialectically interwoven, "[t]he conditions of material life are shaped through their representation as certainly as representations are shaped by material life" (p155). This chapter thus attempts to overcome this distinction and in so doing discusses others' research which acknowledges this dialectical relationship.

Television film depicts a variety of places; interiors and exteriors - news rooms, studio sets, sports' auditoria, concert halls, cars, rooms, houses, gardens, villages, towns, cities and countries. Mulvey (referred to in Wollen 1980) talks interestingly about how there may be a tendency for filmic narrative to turn all places, even countryside landscapes into interiors or stage sets, which is suggestive of Williams' (1990) notion of 'flow' (referred to in the last part of the chapter) and the way that all phenomena screened on television become homogenized by the very fact they are televized. Places are consciously selected and/or created for the production of television film. Very often their selection for filming is dictated by sheer convenience and by constraints in time and finance. Because the US film and television industry is based in Hollywood, Los Angeles, it is not surprising to find that many American television programmes feature places akin to Los Angeles. In the UK, early film production companies evolved in Yorkshire, London and Brighton. Development occurred later mainly in the London area and includes production undertaken at Pinewood, Elstree and Ealing studios.

Filming very often takes place in the vicinity of the studio and thus London and the 'home counties' feature frequently in tele-filmic material produced in the UK[35].

Nietschmann (1993) acknowledges that places are imbued with meanings and emphasizes the importance of getting "the geography right" (p12) when producing film and that this potential of geographic authenticity is rarely tapped, unleashed or developed. Aitken (1994a) also describes how good film-makers capture the essence of a place. However, this may not be appropriate when the place being depicted is not intended to represent a place that naturally exists. Real places may be filmed as they are as with news reporting or may be entirely created for the purposes of television filming as exemplified by the *This Morning* studio set, some children's television and many other programmes. Places may also be altered in a conscious manner to affect a very different appearance as with Holmfirth in West Yorkshire for *Last of the Summer Wine* and Goathland in North Yorkshire for *Heartbeat*[36]. Places thus can be real, reel or a combination of both (as is exemplified by Goathland, see Chapter Seven).

Place is used in television film for a variety of purposes. It can be the central protagonist itself (Aitken 1994a), or serve to construct a narrative space to hold people and plot, and/or authenticate and historicize the action in appropriate time, place and space conditions. Place essentially narrates and/or describes; it can be a signifier of character, it can psychologize and become a metaphor for the state of mind of the protagonist (a geography of the mind) and can function as a spectacle, a visually pleasurable lure to the spectator's eye (Higson 1984)[37]. In his discussion of British 'kitchen sink' films, Higson (1984) emphasizes the ways in which the city is portrayed typically by 'That Long Shot of Our Town from That Hill', a shot that lures the eye across the vast empty space of a townscape. Whilst spectacular, shots of this kind are described as serving to establish

[35] Black Park for example near Pinewood Studios in Buckinghamshire features in much filmic material produced there, including "James Bond" and *Carry On* films and the television series, *The Persuaders* and *The Avengers*.

[36] See Chapter Seven for an in-depth analysis of *Heartbeat*.

[37] Jenkins (1990) details the lengths a camera-man will go to make his work visually stunning in his work on the television film *Eating*.

the overall space in which the action takes place. This establishing shot then moves from the general to the particular as the space becomes impregnated with increasing narrative significance and dramatic purpose until a character is placed in the environment and place thus becomes created from space. This type of filming technique serves to contextualize the action and forms a narrative convention frequently used in nature and scientific documentaries as well (Aitken 1994a). It is also frequently employed in the introductory opening credits to television series and serials[38] [39].

Place is an important signifier of reality, "[l]andscapes and settings play a central rôle in convincing viewers of the reality of the tele-visual text" (Burgess 1987, p6). Realism can be understood in three main ways which relate to film; a **surface realism** - an iconography which authentically (re)produces the visual and aural surfaces of a way of life, a **moral realism** - involving a moral commitment to a particular social formation and, a **poetic realism** - involving a conjunction of surface and moral realism which transcends ordinariness making it beautiful (Higson 1984). Issues of reality reverberate through the geographers' work on film and often relate to discussion on documentaries. Geography's ubiquitous emphasis on realism is emphasized in much of the literature on film and remains one of the most pervasive arguments for using documentary film (as opposed to narrative film[40]) in the classroom (Jenkins & Youngs 1983; Aitken 1994a). It is presumed that, "[s]till, short of actual time spent travelling, there is no better way to see a culture" (Macdonald 1990, p284). The inaccessible place, space and peoples depicted on film are supposed to be real enough to substitute field experience and the accuracy of real geographies portrayed taken for granted; it is assumed that the camera does not lie. However, the documentary remains as constructed and fictional as narrative film and is the outcome of a set of successfully performed narrative conventions that are socially and culturally mediated (Jenkins & Youngs 1983; Youngs & Jenkins 1984; Jenkins 1990; Natter & Jones 1993). The choice of what and what not to frame, aesthetics and editing sequences of images and sound necessitates film makers to

[38] This tension between general historicizing space and specific psychologizing place and individuals is examined more thoroughly by Higson (1984).
[39] See Chapter Seven and my analysis of *Remains of the Day* for shots which perform the opposite task.

consciously construct a fictional reality of their own design, one so authenticated that viewers are willing to suspend their belief and accept the given representation as reality in the way suggested by the Australians I worked with in Chapter Six (Aitken 1994a)[41].

Place also serves to signify characters' psychology and is used in two main ways. Place can be used to contrast the characters' mood as is exemplified by the films of Higson's (1984) analysis where characters' aspirations are contrasted with the city, a place inhabited by victims, problems, slums, poverty and struggle. Characters are depicted as being metaphorically imprisoned in the city and longing for the freedom of the countryside. However, when these characters visit the countryside, their pleasure is tainted by their memory of the city. Place is also used to mirror characters' emotions as is exemplified by David Lean's use of place to resonate the feelings of Lawrence in *Lawrence of Arabia* (Aitken 1994a; Kennedy 1994). Spatial representations similarly mirror Moore's grim assessment regarding capital's detachment from its responsibilities in *Roger & Me* (Natter & Jones 1993).

Research demonstrates how place is used in film to (re)produce a variety of other geographies. Much of their work concerns itself with the city more specifically and geographies of postmodernity, (Harvey (1989) on Wim Wender's *Wings of Desire* and Ridley Scott's *Blade Runner*[42]; Daniels (1995) on Patrick Keiller's *London*), polity, economy and culture, (Benton (1995) examines three films depicting Los Angeles), class struggle and contest, (Aitken (1994a) on *Blade Runner* and Lang's *Metropolis*), racial violence, (Aitken (1994a) on Spike Lee's films), the Fordist social contract, power and capital, (Natter & Jones (1993) on Michael Moore's *Roger & Me*), and, challenge (Jenkins & Youngs (1983) on Joris Ivens' films). Other research reveals how place is used to (re)produce geographies of nature and culture relations (Godfrey (1993) on films depicting the Amazon region) and nature and gender relations (Aitken & Zonn (1993) on Peter Weirs's *Picnic at Hanging Rock* and *Gallipoli*).

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[40] See Macdonald (1990) on the use of narrative third world films in the classroom.

[41] See Natter & Jones (1993) on *Roger & Me* and how this film highlights the presumption that documentary work is unbiased and divorced from reality.

Place is thus utilized to (re)produce various intended geographies. How places are (re)produced to hold the action of the characters, carry the narrative and hold our attention is determined ultimately by the producers of the television film and their teams. They decide upon which place and space eventually ends up on screen and why and how it appears. Each element of the mise en scène; that is the staging of the television film - the place, space, lighting and props and, the costume and behaviour of the figures who act within it is contrived by the production team. The way in which the mise en scène is then captured on film by camera is also determined by the production team too. The camera may tilt, track, crane or zoom and utilize various focusing techniques whilst recording its extreme long, long, American, medium, medium close up and extreme close up filmic shots (Burgess 1987). The montage too; that is, the editing of these shots afterwards (and thus the place therein) which may dissolve, wipe, fade or cut from one to the next will impact upon how place finally appears and sounds on our television sets. However, in order to make television film meaningful and given what is known about its consumption (discussed in the last part of the chapter), tele-filmic place is typically sketched in, stripped down and visually bare in contrast to cinema's profusion of detail and bemoaned by Woolley (1985). One important exception to this is the historical serial where places and rich detail are emphasized (and where action is concomitantly slower as a result) and exemplified by BBC TV's *Pride & Prejudice* (Ellis 1992) (see Chapter Seven).

Whilst much meaning about place is consciously encoded within the television film by the production team, much other meaning about place situated in powerful discourses is presented and produced unintentionally within the tele-filmic text and derives from processes relating to its production (discussed in the previous part of the chapter). Subtexts of meaning produced by the representation or (re)production of place may mark significant cultural biases or ideologies and as such places (both real and reel) become infused with meaning, myth and stereotype. Youngs & Jenkins (1984) for example

[42] See also Doel & Clarke (1997).

analyze six films in the *Regions of Britain* series distributed by Shell, UK. The films (re)produce romantic and nostalgic places which do not feature areas of high population and industry or the low education provision, poor transportation systems, unemployment and poverty associated with living in the countryside. The films rather perpetuate myths of an Arcadian rurality and a rurality viewed from the city by what is and what is not incorporated within the filmic text[43]. Working class homes in the Midlands and the North have similarly become exoticized and aestheticized in the British 'kitchen' sink films[44]. The films' depiction of poverty and squalor is presented in a photogenic and dramatic way (Higson 1984). The Long Shots used in the films typically situate the viewer in a privileged secure voyeuristic vantage point, where distance is both social and spatial[45]. Aitken (1994a) observes that,

> "[i]n becoming the spectacular object of a diegetic and spectatorial gaze - something precisely 'to-be looked-at' - it is emptied of socio-historical signification in a process of romanticisation, aesetheticisation (even humanisation). This production of the city *as image* undercuts the moral sanction which authorises our gaze at it, and at the same time tends to *separate* the protagonist from the space which defines it" (p16).

Tele-filmic place (like much tourism practice which is investigated in Chapter Three) is thus important in terms of the national discourses it (re)presents and (re)produces and may serve to displace and prevent representations of genuine cultural and political use (Higson 1987). Hörschelmann (1997) reveals how German television reports and films take an active part in the construction and reconstruction of hierarchical differences between East and West Germany and how the discourses employed effect a marginalization of East Germany and its people. McIntyre (1984) too identifies three main discourses offered by Scottish cinema and television for the construction of a delimited and stereotypical Scottish national identity; Tartanry (hills and glens, kilts and porridge, brawny men and cabers, clearances and Culloden), Kailyard (a mawkish sentimentality centred on community or family life) and Clydesidism (industrial

[43] See also Jenkins & Youngs (1983).
[44] See also Aitken (1994a).
[45] See Laura Mulvey's (1975) work on voyeurism and film.

heroism); women too are represented as the 'spirit of Scotland'. The satirization of Australia, Australians and Australianess in *Crocodile Dundee* similarly destroy and challenge several popular and positive images. Even the landscape depicted which provides the most abiding impression of Australia's uniqueness is undercut by the film's dialogue. Most positive statements made by the film in relation to place refer to aspects of contemporary American rather than Australian culture and as such Australia is shown to be distinctive but inferior to the US (Abbey & Crawford 1990). The US is frequently (re)produced in many films within sustained discourses of superiority. Roland Joffé's *City of Joy* typically depicts how a submissive and compliant India (and Indians) is saved from slum lords by America in the form of the American actor, Patrick Swayze (Aitken 1994a)[46].

However, whilst most film and television production serves to (re)produce dominant discourses of place (and exemplified by the tele-filmic material I analyze in Chapter Seven), place is also utilized by some to de-centre dominant cultural discourses and to unpack myths associated with it or its inhabitants. Bill Forsyth's films for example challenge the privation of Scotland and its culture by dominant exogenous discourses. Contemporary Scotland is staged and then deconstructed as are the myths which subjugate and de-politicize Scotland and its people. Forsyth displaces frozen discourses with representations which are of genuine political and cultural use within the contemporary Scottish situation (Aitken 1994a)[47] [48].

Research undertaken by geographers furthermore mainly concerns itself with tele-filmic places produced by those in power and very often reflects the preoccupations of the outsiders to the place depicted rather than those who inhabit it (Godfrey 1993; Hörschelmann 1997). Rose (1994) however, attempts to rectify geographers' neglect of

[46] See Rennie Short's (1991) examination of the US western and its embodiment of general myths of wilderness and countryside. He describes US ideologies of nation-building and how the western sustains a recreated and continual representation of the making of the US.
[47] See also McIntyre (1984).
[48] Aitken (1994a) similarly discusses how a variety of films expose the myths of the US, Italy, France and Germany.

non-hegemonic place images by examining two films produced in the mid 1970's by local community groups in East London. Aitken also (1991) explores how narrative film can unpack the cultural geographies of developing nations. He (1994a) discusses how film produced in developing countries (often termed 'Third Cinema') challenges the hegemony of western capitalism in his discussion of *Salaam Bombay!*[49], *El Norte* and *The Perfumed Nightmare.*

This part of the chapter has examined how television film produces its own places within the tele-visual space presented to us on our television screen and is an integral part of the complex cultural process through which meanings about these places are produced. However, tele-filmic place meanings can only become meaningful when people actually engage with them; the next part of the chapter therefore examines what has been documented by geographers and others relating to people's consumption of tele-filmic place.

People and Tele-Filmic Place

In order to pursue an understanding of the inter-connections existing between people, place and television film, this part of the chapter explores people's consumption of tele-filmic places. Whilst research undertaken by geographers on landscape (Meinig 1979; Cosgrove & Daniels 1988; Duncan & Duncan 1988) provides us with an understanding of how people consume places and generate meaning about them, there is a lacunae in the research literature which specifically documents how people consume places screened on television and what meaning they gain from them. However, our understanding of who are involved in the consumption of tele-filmic places, why, where and what tele-filmic places are consumed and, how people consume meanings more generally (which has been discussed in the first part of this chapter) is of much relevance to what is examined in this part of the chapter. This part of the chapter thus considers

[49] See also Macdonald (1990).

what has not been investigated; that is, how people consume tele-filmic places. As such, it examines the differences between our experience of real and reel places, geographers' research on the consumption of tele-filmic place, people's relationship with place in and on film and real and reel place inter-connections. As such, this part of the chapter also serves to situate the knowledge produced in Chapters Six and Seven.

We encounter a variety of places during the course of our everyday lives and gain meaning about them in a conscious and unconscious way from our bodily senses. Our experience of place is simultaneously impacted upon by various phenomena relating to us and our culture, the place being encountered and the context for that experience. When we encounter tele-filmic places however, we gain meaning about them in a conscious and unconscious way from what we see and hear only. Table 2.3 delineates the differences afforded by tele-filmic and actual experience of place.

Table 2.3: The Differences between Tele-Filmic and Actual Experience of Place

Tele-Filmic Experience	Actual Experience
two dimensional world	three dimensional world
black & white/colour	colour
vision delimited by screen	vision potentially limitless
space and time ordered through and editing	space and time continuous
odourless	smell

Source: Adapted from Easthope (1993).

We can only see and hear tele-filmic places, whereas we can additionally smell, touch, taste and utilize that sixth sense to perceive the actual place around us. Additionally one could add that we can not participate bodily in the place depicted on the television screen, although Imax and virtual technology may eventually allow us the opportunity to do this in the not too distant future. Importantly, our experience of place on television film is a second-hand one. Our encounter with 'reel' place is totally contrived by those who produce it and limited by the technology employed for its production. Our

consumption of 'reel' place meanings is furthermore impacted upon by those intended meanings encoded within the tele-filmic text and those that are unintended and resulting from its production and the cultural climate of the time of production and consumption (and discussed in the first part of the chapter). It is important however, to emphasize that virtual geographies of places are not more or less real than embodied geographies, virtual geographies are rather about a different kind of perception not bounded by proximity (Wark 1994).

Research relating to the consumption of meanings of place screened on television has two key foci; reading tele-filmic place as text (Burgess 1987) and, the application of theoretical perspectives developed in cultural studies (Burgess 1990). Both foci are explored with reference to meaning more generally earlier on in this chapter and included the discussion of semiology and discourse analysis. However, research undertaken by geographers which utilizes transactional theory constitutes the most substantive work relating to the consumption of tele-filmic place (and meanings therein) (Zonn 1984; Aitken 1991; Aitken & Zonn 1993). Transactional theory evolved in reaction to an assumption associated with behavioural geography that individuals derived information about the environment through perception, evaluated the information in terms of their held value systems and arrived at a cognitive representation which researchers construed to be a steadfast basis for subsequent behaviour. Transactional theory in contrast makes the assumption that individuals do not attain a stable adaptation to or integration with their environment, the focus is rather upon change and a dynamic connection or transaction which accounts for people's construal of past events and future expectations. It is suggestive therefore of a reality which can only be understood within the continuity of a space-time context as opposed to a constructivist space-time snap-shot (Aitken & Bjorkland 1988). The nature and character of transactions are determined by the ability of the landscape to provide information of a unique character and the individual's ability to select discrete images from the vast amount of information proffered (Zonn 1984). Zonn (1984) evolves a conceptual framework which integrates a transactional approach to landscape perception

with a model of media depictions. The model reflects a complex and dynamic system in which information moves between landscape and individuals via direct and indirect mediated transactions and how these transactions are integrally linked. Indirect transactions where for example people are transacting with landscape on film distorts transactions; places portrayed do not have the capacity to duplicate the place and its meanings in their entirety. Distortion results from this and the constraints associated with the film's production. The model furthermore importantly suggests that people's imagined geographies of place constitute images gained from direct and indirect experience and continue to evolve as people transact with place[50].

Information for images or imagined geographies of place is directly and indirectly acquired. Zonn (1984) finds that images of more ordinary places are likely to be dominated by experiential means of information acquisition whereas places more removed from the ordinary (like the UK for Australians) are more likely to be created and maintained by indirect means and will vary according to the individual relationship between person and place. Indirect information may be the only means of acquiring information about place or complement imagined geographies of place which have derived from direct experience of place. Where people's imagined geographies of place are vivid and detailed they are less likely to be influenced whereas those which are more generalized are more susceptible to new imagery acquired from mass media (Zonn 1990). Following from this, it would seem that television film and tele-filmic places more specifically provide important material for the creation, maintenance or alteration of imagined geographies of place. Zonn's research also suggests that their power to do this is impacted by whether people have directly experienced the place concerned or not (Zonn 1984).

[50] Daniels (1992) describes the geographical imagination as being a, "purely subjective faculty, a mental state or projection which enlivens or obscures an objective, but inert world" (p320). See also Gregory's (1995) discussion of Foucault and his assertion that "imaginative space" is not only the stuff of dreams (whilst sleeping) but also resident between "the book and the lamp" (p29); that is, in a person's mind as they interact with a text.

Other research not only explores person-place meanings existing between film-maker, film and audience but those embodied within the filmic text as well. Aitken (1991) employs transactional analysis to examine Bill Forsyth's films and their portrayal of the interdependency of person-place relations within the filmic text. Aitken & Zonn (1993) conjoin psychoanalytic perspectives which find currency in ecofeminism to explore more specific gender-place relations in Peter Weir's films *Picnic at Hanging Rock* and *Gallipoli.* There is an emphasis here on change (essential to transactional theory) initiated by events which are the result of the juxtaposition of ordinary and extraordinary behaviours and environments which create imbalance and transformation. In film these changes are initiated by what Aitken (1991) describes as "image events"; sequences of shots which violate or enhance the rhythm of a film (Aitken 1991).

However, whilst providing us with an important understanding of people-place relations in and on film, transactional analysis has little to offer our understanding of the important geographical connection existing between tele-filmic places and the effects of these on real places (Kennedy & Lukinbeal 1997). Other research however examines how place representations are seen to contribute to the (re)production of place similarly to the way in which tourist promotional practice (re)produces tourist destinations (see Chapter Three). Hanna (1996) for example in his research of the relationship between representation and place examines the blurring of Cicely the fictional Alaskan town in the television show *Northern Exposure* and Roslyn, the 'real' town in Washington state where outdoor scenes of *Northern Exposure* are shot. He concludes that the production of tele-filmic place has material repercussions on the residents of places and that the relationship between Roslyn and Cicely helps advance an epistemology of place that recognizes that the whole set of boundaries and distinctions we use to define places limits our understanding of places as social and historical contingent processes (Massey 1991, 1993).

> "[S]imultaneous and multiple meanings are created and reproduced by the changing social interactions of viewers, tourists, advertisers, and town residents - all responsible for the production of *Northern Exposure*" (Hanna 1996, p645).

Television is a powerful means by which cities (re)produce themselves historically, geographically and culturally. Ted Turner's TBS and TNT networks have mythologized contemporary Atlanta in the US through regional and national broadcasts and promotions for *Gone With the Wind* and US cities other than New York and Los Angeles have also been given national prominence as centres of national cultural production and include Orlando and the Disney Channel, Nashville and the Nashville network, Chicago and WGN (Hay 1997). As such, the world becomes a collage or pastiche dominated by the mixed-media/video audio text where the real converges with the reel and where "[t]he postmodern self has become a sign of itself, a double dramaturgical reflection anchored in media representations on the one side, and everyday life on the other" (Denzin 1991, pviii). Baudrillard (1988) describes how cinema leaks out across a multitude of sites, most notably the city. He describes the city as a screenscape, something all around us, a continuous performance of film, a simulacrum, which Deleuze and Guattari (1984) insist disqualifies the notions of both original and copy[51]. Reel tele-filmic place thus becomes real tele-filmic place, a real place to live, work and tour to (see Chapter Seven's examination of how *Heartbeat*, *Pride & Prejudice* and *Remains of the Day* have (re)produced the real places used to portray them).

Conclusion

> "The cinematic place is not, therefore, limited to the world represented on the screen (a geography in film), but the meanings constructed through the experience of film (a geography of film). The meanings constituted through film do not simply reflect or report on space, place and society, but actively participate in the production and consumption of the larger cultural systems of which they are a part" (Hopkins 1994, p50).

Hopkins' (1994) comments are equally applicable to geographies in and of television. The place of television is not, therefore, limited to the world represented on the screen

[51] See also Clarke (1997).

but is more about the meanings constructed through the experience of television (Adams 1992). This chapter has provided knowledge which helps us to understand more about this place and how what happens there is of significance to tourism (and evidenced by the material and data referred to in Chapters One, Two and Three) and the tourism undertaken by Australians travelling to the UK in particular (see Chapters Six and Seven).

Television film has a powerful inter-connection with our everyday lives (Silverstone 1994; Moores 1997). The murder of the television presenter Jill Dando on Thursday 22 April 1999 and its mediation by television is emblematic of this. On the announcement of her death many people experienced the same sense of sadness and loss more associated with the death of relatives or friends. Jill was however like a friend for the many viewers who followed the programmes that she presented like BBC TV's *Holiday* and *Crimewatch UK* and was for some the ideal travel companion and the means by which many toured (both tourist destinations and scenes of crimes) in the comfort and protection of their own homes. Even for the many who were not avid followers of the programmes associated with her, she was like a friendly acquaintance who regularly visited in the evening and characterized by her familiarly (she after all visited frequently) and the ordinariness, friendliness and immediacy of her communication.

Television's mediation of the murder has further established the public's relationship with her and locked us into a bond which whilst, "hurtling (some) into that hysterical space the country rushed to occupy after Diana's death" (Lawson 1999, p30) feels very real to many and is not about the 'false intimacy' suggested by Lawson (1999). We have after all, been to her house, examined the bouquets and their messages there, seen her father and spoken to her colleagues, friends, neighbours, her brother and fiancé. As such, television has provided us with the means to learn about Jill Dando's 'backstage' behaviour and democratized our relationship with her (Meyrowitz 1999).

So what is happening? It would seem that television is producing some very powerful intended meanings which (re)produce the way we think, feel and behave. As such therefore, television not only represents what happens in our culture but is instrumental in its construction and circulation too. This chapter has importantly revealed that television film is an important repository of shared values and meanings which are situated in powerful discourses and the result of the various processes and practices involved in its production. It described how meaning is produced by the repetition of certain definitions and areas of concern and the neglect of others, the creation of specific modalities of meanings and the positioning of the viewer. Each of television's images, sounds, diegetic components and shots are constructed by the programme's production team to produce specific meanings which function to be decoded and understood in a way which is intended. These meanings typically conform to notions of realism and are communicated by a direct, ordinary, familiar and friendly means (Ellis 1992). We are also persuaded to engage with them in the company of the television and/or its presenter. The complicity produced by this (re)produces a common frame of reference which whilst seemingly impartial is essentially ideological and divisive (Rose 1994). And, whilst much of this production of meaning is quite intentional, much will be unintended and derive and be (re)produced by the processes and practices associated with television's production; that is why it has been produced, who produced it, who funded it, what their intentions are, where the production takes place, what type of programme is communicated and how this communication takes place.

As such then, television film, constitutes an integral part of the complex cultural process by which place meanings in particular are produced. The chapter revealed how television film depicts a variety of places ranging from rooms to nations which may be filmed as they are, be entirely created for the purpose of the programme or be a combination of both real and reel phenomena. Each element of place or the mise en scène, the way in which it is captured on film by the camera and its montage are thus entirely contrived by the production team. As an important diegetic component, place was found to be utilized for a variety of different purposes. It can thus be the central

protagonist, the space which holds people and plot, the means by which action is authenticated and the signifier of 'reality', character psychology and a variety of other geographies. And, as before, unintentional place meanings will derive from the processes and practices involved in these production processes. Places thus become marked by significant cultural biases, myth and stereotypes by what is and what is not screened and, how this is undertaken. Television film is therefore important in terms of the national discourse it represents and (re)produces which may serve to displace and prevent representations of genuine cultural and political use (Higson 1987)[52]. This discussion is extended with particular reference to television depicting the UK screened in Australia. Chapters Five and Six consider how television is produced in Australia and together with Chapter Seven investigate how meanings about the UK are produced and inter-connected with the production of tourism from Australia to the UK.

However, for television to be powerful, its meanings have to be consumed in the way they are intended. This chapter thus additionally examined how people consume television film and its meanings therein. The data discussed revealed that the ownership of colour television sets in the UK has virtually reached a saturation point and that video recorders are almost as popular (and provide for a very different way of consuming tele-filmic material) (Burgess 1987; Ellis 1992). Watching television was revealed to constitute the most popular leisure pastime for people and that more women viewed television than men, that more adults viewed television that children and that ITV was the most popular channel although it is losing viewers to the cable and satellite networks (Radio 4 1997). I also discussed how television is available in an increasing amount of spaces and how it is viewed for a variety of reasons. Its significance was revealed to be marked by its prominent positioning in the room in which it is situated and the control of its use was found to be a masculine affair and to typically lie with the father of the family. Whilst its viewing experience in comparison to the cinema is less spectacular, television was found to remain very popular because it can be consumed whilst performing other activities. It also incurs less decision making, effort and financial

[52] It may however, also unpack dominant cultural discourses (Aitken 1994a).

expenditure than the cinema and is a less totalizing experience which demands small concentrated attention. Whilst we view a variety of programme genres, television drama was identified as being the most popular tele-filmic type for those living in the UK and characterized by its identifiable domestic settings, situations, encounters and relationships. As such, and like television more generally, they are instantly recognizable, highly familiar, the characters become like friends and, dilemmas are repeated and never resolved (Ellis 1992). It in particular, is an important part of the social fabric which makes up our routines, is the stuff of much conversation and is intricately woven into the rhythm and discourses of our everyday lives.

Our consumption of television is particularly distinguished by our validation of its ability to successfully recreate what we conventionally understand to be 'real' (Easthope 1993). British television was rated very highly by the Australian tourists I worked with because of its ability to do this effectively. However, it can almost do this too well and make real and reel life difficult to differentiate as we selectively and reflexively appropriate television discourses in order to monitor own lifestyles and therefore judge an unreal 'real' with our own. The situations of television drama in particular can have powerful ramifications on our real lives. People frequently vent anger or grief when a favourite television character dies or is wrongly incarcerated like *Coronation Street's* Deidre Rachid and, evidenced by the communication received by various programme makers. Some television dramas have capitalized on this interest by introducing web sites (like www.bbc.co.uk\eastenders in respect of *EastEnders* for example) where people can express their views in respect of the plot, characters and drama more generally. In so doing, our private spheres of television viewing are connected to a public world which mediates our sense of personal and collective identity. Old identities of nation, culture and ethnicity are melted down toward a dramaturgical transnationalization or globalization of media and audiences (Morley & Robins 1995).

However, validating tele-filmic material on its ability to (re)produce 'reality' is not the only way in which we gain meaning from television. Whilst it was understood that our

consumption is impacted by who and what we are, the reasons we choose to view television, where we do it and what we watch, the chapter also explored two constructionist theories in order to understand how people gain meaning from watching television. Television was described as functioning as a series of signifiers which are understood by their viewers because they are produced in a language that they understand. Discourse analysis extended this understanding and situated the signifiers in a knowledge regulated by discursive practices specific to our culture which we can accept, negotiate or reject the meanings. The chapter mapped this understanding of television consumption onto its analysis of the consumption of tele-filmic places more specifically. It in addition however, examined transactional theory which makes the assumption that people's inter-connection with tele-filmic places are dynamic transactions which have a strong inter-connection with people's direct experience of place. It also emphasized the differences between how we utilize all our senses to experience geographies of place 'for real' as opposed to our second-hand experience of geographies of place on television which we can only see and hear. The chapter also investigated the inter-connection tele-filmic places have with the places that they (re)produce and found that tele-filmic places importantly (re)produce the places that they represent where the real converges with the reel (Hanna 1996) (Chapter Seven presents my own example of this). This discussion is again extended with particular reference to television depicting the UK screened in Australia. Chapters Five and Six consider how television is consumed in Australia and together with Chapter Seven investigate how meanings about the UK are consumed and inter-connected with the consumption of tourism from Australia to the UK.

Television film is thus an important and powerful agent in the production and consumption of culture and meanings more generally. And, tele-filmic places furthermore have an important and powerful agency in the production and consumption of place meanings more specifically. As such therefore, it is strongly suggested here that television film has the potential to be significantly implicated in the production, maintenance and negotiation of people's imagined geographies of place which in turn

transact and map onto their experienced geographies. This thesis however is concerned with geographies of place as realized by people's practice of tourism. Chapter Three: A Geography of Tourism thus contextualizes our understanding of people, place and television film with specific reference to tourism.

> "filmic image partakes in a form of tourism: cinema's depiction is both an extension and an effect of the tourist's gaze" (Bruno 1997, p47).

Chapter Three: A Geography of Tourism

"Films are like imaginary journeys; the cinema is a magic means of transport to distant places" Wollen (1980, p25)

"Film is the ultimate travel story" Bruno (1997, p46)

Introduction

The BTA in conjunction with the British Academy of Film and Television Arts (BAFTA) and Vauxhall Motors produced a second edition of their *Movie Map* (Liddall 1996) which premièred in 1996, the centenary year for British cinema[1] [2] (see Appendix D for the complete map). The map which is illustrated in part in Figure 3.1 depicts Britain (but excludes Northern Ireland because so few films have been produced there) and identifies 186 British television and motion picture film locations with information about them and suggests some (tele)filmic tour itineraries. Like its predecessor[3], the second edition has been produced in response to a significant demand of people who continue to request information from the BTA about British film locations and British houses, cities, gardens, places and spaces that they have seen on the big and small screen[4]. Both maps have been very popular, the second has been the most successful piece of marketing print ever produced by the BTA who are presently editing a third edition which will be available later on this year (1999)[5].

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[1] The second edition of the *Movie Map* had a print run of 250 000.
[2] The concept of the movie map has been popular. The Australian Tourist Commission has also produced a map depicting selected feature film locations in Australia.
[3] See (Boyden 1990).
[4] Staff in the BTA's Sydney office (discussed in more depth in Chapters Four and Six) originally contacted the BTA's Product Development Department in London with the suggestion that a map of locations with accompanying details would be a useful item of print to fulfil the many requests about television and movie film locations in the UK.
[5] An interactive version of the BTA's *Movie Map* can also be accessed on the world wide web site, http://www.visitbritain.com/activities/moviemap/.

Figure 3.1: The *Movie Map*

Source: Liddall (1996).

This is yet further evidence that the relationship existing between people, place and television film in the context of tourism is one of significance and, that visits to and interest about places increase(s) following their appearance in television film. However, Chapter One emphasized that this significance has barely been recognized by the academy and that little research exists which seeks to explain *how* and *why* places become more attractive to people following their appearance on screen. Chapter Two thus began to address this lacuna by exploring the inter-connections existing between people, place and television film. It revealed quite clearly that television film is an important and powerful agent in the production and consumption of culture and meanings more generally and that tele-filmic places have an important and powerful agency in the production and consumption of place meanings more specifically. It therefore concluded by suggesting that television film has the potential to be significantly implicated in the production, maintenance and negotiation of people's imagined geographies of place which in turn have an inter-connection with their experienced geographies of them. This thesis however is concerned with geographies of place as realized by people's practice of tourism. This chapter therefore contextualizes our understanding of the relationship existing between people, place and television film with specific reference to tourism.

Like watching television film, tourism is a significant cultural practice that has remained underdeveloped by the academy (and, geography more specifically) (Urry 1988, 1990a; Squire 1994a; Abram & Waldren 1997). Indeed the word tourism is sometimes used disparagingly as a derisive label to describe people's superficial encounters with a variety of phenomena. Tourists are frequently "othered" by those within and without the academy and as MacCannell (1976) observes, "it is intellectually chic nowadays to deride tourists" (p9). We are however, offered little academic explanation as to why this is so although Squire (1994a) has suggested that the perpetual marginalization of tourism meanings is partly due to the association of tourism with amusement and entertainment.

Like Geography, Tourism Studies is taught to students at a variety of levels in the school and university. Unlike Geography however, Tourism Studies is presently being rapidly institutionalized within much of the academy and is typically treated as a vocational subject; one designed to meet the management needs of a flourishing industry. Those researching tourism acknowledge that their field currently lacks the level of theoretical underpinning to allow it to become a true discipline (Cooper 1993a) and much of the research undertaken is described as having a strong spatial and economic orientation (Squire 1994a; Lanfant *et al* 1995; Rojek & Urry 1997). Robinson (1976) for example, typically envisages tourism as an applied geography, Smith & Mitchell (1990) describe tourism as a spatial discipline and Mitchell & Murphy (1991) discuss the emphasis placed upon location in geographical writings on tourism. However, Squire (1994a) does document research undertaken by tourism researchers on tourism history, social and cultural impacts, host/guest interaction, tourist images and representation which has been more concerned with shared meanings and culture. This research presages some of the more recent innovative work undertaken by geographers which conjoins tourism, geography, sociology and cultural studies. Others too working in anthropology, sociology and cultural studies have also made important contributions to the body of tourism research, some of which is highly apposite to this thesis[6].

This chapter thus seeks to situate our understanding of people, place and television film in a tourism context. As such however, it does not constitute an orthodox geography of tourism, it rather focuses its discussion on processes and practices relating to the production and consumption of tourism and inter-connects this discussion with television film. It constitutes three main parts;

- **tourism** - this part of the chapter situates tourism within a background of human movement and travel. It describes the difficulties that academics have encountered in defining and delimiting tourism and provides an understanding of tourism for the purposes of this thesis. It discusses data which quantify tourist numbers and spend and

[6] See Abram & Waldren (1997) for example.

reveals how tourism frames massive and continuous flows of people to and from places around the globe. It explains the importance of tourism to individuals, society and culture and, investigates the part played by tourism as a (re)presenter and (re)producer of culture and meaning.

- **the production of tourism** - whilst a variety of processes and practices are constitutive of the production of tourism more generally, this part of the chapter considers those that are constitutive of the (re)production of places (and the people therein) as destinations and people as tourists more specifically. It examines how these processes and practices can be undertaken deliberately with the express purpose of (re)producing destinations, tourists and meanings about them and/or, how they can be the accidental by-product of undertakings whose main objectives are not tourism linked. This part of the chapter also considers how television film inter-connects with these processes and practices of tourism production.

- **the consumption of tourism** - whilst a variety of processes and practices are constitutive of the consumption of tourism more generally, (and constitute an important part of tourism production), this part of the chapter considers those that constitute the consumption of destinations and meanings about them (and the people therein) more specifically. It examines how these processes and practices derive from tourism undertaken in a highly deliberate way; that is, where people appropriate specific slots of time in which they knowingly 'do' tourism or how they may be undertaken in ways which are not indistinguishable from other kinds of cultural practice and not obviously tourism linked. This part of the chapter also considers how television film inter-connects with these processes and practices.

Tourism

> "All the misfortunes of men (*sic*) derive from one single thing, which is their inability to be at ease in a room at home" (Blaise Pascal cited in Parr 1995)

> "By contrast today all humanity seems to be gripped by a fervour of movement. Man (*sic*) appears seized by a goading restlessness, to be caught up in a strange psychic phenomenon that requires everyone to want to be wherever he or she is not" (Blaise Pascal cited in Parr 1995).

> "Certainly, the uncomfortable fact is that tourism is now so all-pervasive that some are beginning to ask whether the world can be saved from it" (Thrift 1994, p635)

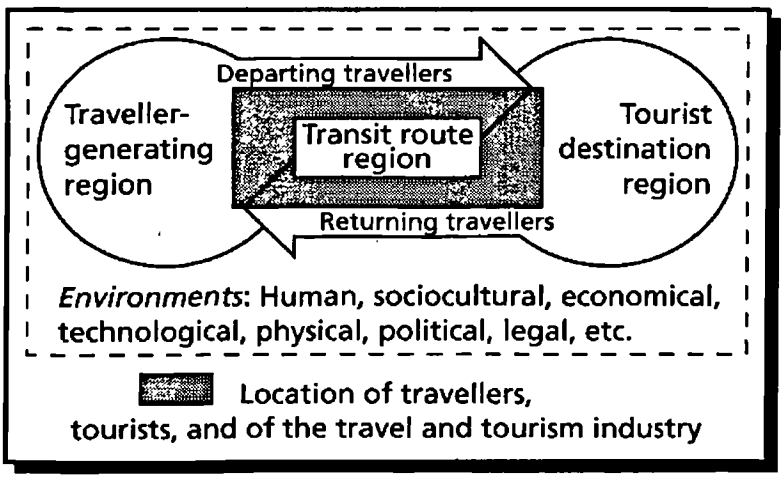
Our bodily movement through time and space is of much consequence to our everyday lives. Our first motions as foetus can be visualized with the aid of sophisticated technology and are often the source of great joy for the parents concerned. This action continues to be undertaken consciously or unconsciously and is determined by a number of factors which may relate to our gender, age, health, wealth, education and culture. Much of the movement that we undertake will constitute travel, travel between one place and another which will vary in many ways and be undertaken because we need, want or are coerced to. This thesis is specifically concerned with movement or travel incurred whilst people act as tourists. It is furthermore and importantly concerned with all the other processes and practices that people become engaged in before, during and following their experience of travel to, from and within places and, what makes tourism so different from travel.

Whilst academics are able to characterize tourism (Burkart & Medlik 1974; Robinson 1976; Urry 1990a), they would seem to find it more difficult to delimit and define (Cooper 1993a; Lanfant 1995; Abram & Waldren 1997; Roberts 1998). As Holloway (1989) observes, "to define tourism precisely is a difficult if not impossible task" (p11). Relieving it of its "ism" would probably make things easier but concomitantly relieve it of its inherent complexities and the amalgam of phenomena which makes it so interesting to

research[7]. Its youthfulness (Brown (1993) documents the use of the word tourism dating back to the early nineteenth century), multifaceted nature (Dann & Cohen 1991), fragmented industrial sectors and connections with many other cultural practices (Urry 1990a) further compound the difficulties associated with its definition.

However, definitions do exist but differ in meaning and emphasis. Some for example exclude day trips while others exclude business travel (Hunziker & Krapf cited in Holloway 1989; Pearce 1979; Burkart & Medlik 1974); others place an emphasis on the industry while others emphasize the impacts made on the host community (Jafari cited in Smith 1980); and some highlight the movement of people not only outside their normal places of residence but employment as well (Mathieson & Wall 1982). For the purposes of this thesis however, tourism is understood to be the sum of the phenomena associated with the practices and processes that people engage in whilst acting as (business and/or leisure) tourists prior to, during and following their travel from generating places, through transit spaces to destination places and, the industry that produces the places, people and technologies to allow these phenomena. Figure 3.2 illustrates Leiper's (1990) tourism system which anticipates this understanding of tourism.

Figure 3.2: Leiper's Basic Tourism System



Source: Leiper (1990).

[7] Defining 'tour' is less problematic.

The tourism system constitutes the largest industry in the world. The World Tourism Organization (WTO) calculated that in 1996, tourists undertook 595 million overseas trips, 5.5% more than the previous year and 77% more than ten years earlier. The consultancy, Euromonitor furthermore calculated that on average, tourist spending in 1996 was $559 per person and expects this figure to increase by 8% per year until 2000. The World Travel and Tourism Council (WTTC) interestingly calculates figures that take into account not only direct spend but indirect spend like for example; capital investment, wages, salaries and taxes[8]. Allowing for this indirect spend the WTTC calculates that the total economic value of goods and services attributable to tourism in 1996 as $3.6 trillion, or 10.6% of gross global product. It also estimates that tourism sustains more that one in ten jobs around the world, provides work for 255 million people and could create another 130 million opportunities by 2006 (Roberts 1998).

Tourism is very important to the UK and its residential population. In 1996, Britons undertook 42 569 000 visits to overseas destinations and spent £16 310 billion (Office for National Statistics 1998b). In the same year, Britons went on 54 million holidays, of which over 30 million were taken in England, Scotland and Wales. People residing in the UK furthermore undertook 127 million trips of one or more nights within the UK (staying 454.6 million nights in total away from home or 3.6 nights on average per trip) and spent £13 895 billion or on average £109.40 per trip (Office for National Statistics 1998a). In-bound tourism to the UK is also important and officially recognized by the 1969 Development of Tourism Act which established the BTA and national tourist boards (the NITB was not covered by this Act as it had already been established by statute in 1948) whose key objective continues to be the promotion of the UK as a tourist destination both overseas and domestically[9]. In 1997, the number of tourists to the UK rose by 1% to a record 25.5 million. However, spending remained nearer 1996 levels

[8] See Fletcher (1993b) on direct, indirect and induced economic impacts of tourism and the multiplier models designed to measure them.

[9] The BTA (and ETB) are financed by direct grant in aid from the government which is received through their sponsoring Whitehall ministry, the Department of Culture, Media and Sport. Further funding and support in kind is generated from private and public sector organizations.

(£12.26 million) and is attributed to the strength of sterling coupled with the recent financial crisis in Asia (BTA 1998c). As such, tourism is the UK's most important invisible export and presently employs 7% of the UK's work-force and creates 20% of all new jobs (BTA 1998a).

Whilst the data here do not qualify the relationship existing between people and place as realized by the practice of tourism, they are useful in that they quantify tourist numbers and spend and are indicative of the sheer enormity of current tourism practice, its importance to us and our everyday lives and its importance to the academy and Geography therefore. Tourism is a significant social phenomena (Urry 1990a) and (like watching television film) plays an important rôle in many people's lives (Squire 1994a). It is a subjective experience much anticipated through dreaming, discussion, reading, planning and watching television, of much significance when being undertaken and linked to special moments (Squire 1994c) and, something much remembered through souvenirs, postcards, photographs, videos and television films following travel.

This chapter is particularly concerned with the cultural significance of tourism. As the data demonstrate, tourism frames massive and continuous flows of people to and from places around the globe (*Theory, Culture and Society* 1990). It also frames massive and continuous accompanying flows of money, capital[10], ideas, images, information, objects (Lury 1997) and technologies (Appadurai 1990; Lash & Urry 1994). And, as people and these accompanying flows tour, cultures themselves tour too (Rojek & Urry 1997). Like television film, the relationship tourism has with culture can be understood in two main ways. It can be understood to represent culture(s) and be utilized as a way of understanding people and a pivot for sociological research. It "is significant in its ability to reveal aspects of normal practices which might otherwise remain opaque" (Urry 1990a, p2), "can provide geographers with a useful vehicle through which to examine social and cultural questions" (Squire 1994a, p1) and has been employed as a way to explain modern social structures (MacCannell 1976). It is additionally however,

[10] Britton (1991) emphasizes tourism's importance as an avenue of capitalist accumulation.

understood to form part of the larger processes of cultural transformation and to be an important and powerful agent for the production and consumption of shared meanings (Squire 1994a). Its importance and power lie in its "tremendous discursive power" (Norton 1996, p355) and its ideological framing of geography and history which are discussed in more depth later on in this chapter (MacCannell 1992). Tourism is a significant dynamic which brings people and places together (Lanfant *et al* 1995), and, in so doing, radically displaces and fundamentally and forever alters their cultures (MacCannell 1992). It subsequently generates the "organic binding of different cultural conventions and symbols" (Rojek & Urry 1997, p4) and produces new cultural forms which demonstrate a radical hybridization and global cultural homogeneity (MacCannell 1992; Lanfant *et al* 1995). As such, MacCannell (1996) suggests that tourism can be understood as the final stage of colonialism and Empire. However, Rojek & Urry (1997) remind us that tourism is not alone in its reproduction of culture and that, "[a]ll cultures get remade as a result of the flows of people, objects and images across national borders, whether these involve colonialism, work-based migration, individual travel or mass tourism" (p11). They also stress the variation in the rate at which cultures may travel and in particular Rojek (1997) argues that there is an acceleration of images and signs to which television makes a significant contribution.

Like television film therefore, tourism importantly produces and consumes shared meanings and culture and, as such makes important contributions to the five major cultural processes identified in Fig 2.2, Du Gay *et al*'s (1997) Circuit of Culture (illustrated in Chapter Two). However, this chapter, like Chapter Two, highlights processes of production and consumption only; that is, the production and consumption of tourism, but, in so doing discusses processes of identity, representation and regulation. It furthermore inter-connects its discussion with television film and begins by exploring processes and practices of tourism production.

The Production of Tourism

> "Tourism organizes our experience of the world and its many aggregate cultures and landscapes" (Wilson, 1992, p19).

Whilst a variety of processes and practices are constitutive of the production of tourism more generally, this part of the chapter considers those that are constitutive of the (re)production of places as destinations and people as tourists more specifically[11]. It examines how these processes and practices can be undertaken deliberately with the express purpose of (re)producing destinations, tourists and meanings about them, and, how they can be the accidental by-product of undertakings whose main objectives are not tourism linked. This part of the chapter also considers how television film relates to these processes and practices of tourism production and provides a theoretical framework for Chapter Five's investigation of the way in which tourism is produced from Australia to the UK.

Places and meanings about them are deliberately (re)produced by different organizations to achieve a variety of objectives. Places are (re)produced by governments as places to migrate to, by local authorities' Economic Development Units as places to stage exhibitions and events and to (re)locate businesses to (Burgess 1982; Burgess & Wood 1988; Philo & Kearns 1993), by estate agents, builders and building societies as places to live in (Gold & Gold 1994), by schools and universities as places to be educated in and, by the tourist industry as places to tour and spend in. Whilst some places have (re)produced themselves as places to tour to without any contrivance, many of these and other places that do not have a history of tourist interest are (re)produced as tourist destinations by a massive tourism machine constitutive of government organizations (WTO, BTA, national, regional and local tourism organizations), tourist attractions, accommodation, transport and intermediaries (tour operators, ground handlers and travel

[11] The processes and practices may additionally include those most usually associated with the consumption of tourism and are discussed later on in this chapter.

agents)[12]. Whilst the management functions (research, planning, development, operation and promotion) undertaken by these industrial sectors and the overall marketing orientation[13] they adopt all serve to (re)produce place to some degree, place (re)production is ultimately determined by the importance appropriated to it in terms of meeting the objectives of the specific tourism organization concerned, the funding allocated to undertake it and the professionalism of those who plan its management. Although all tourist organizations in the UK to some degree make a contribution to its (re)production as a destination, the (re)production of Britain as a tourist destination to global and domestic markets is the essential objective of the BTA along with national, regional and local tourism organizations. In 1997, the BTA handled a budget of £52.5 million with which to undertake a sophisticated campaign of place (re)production (BTA 1998a). Utilizing information collated by extensive programmes of market research the BTA identifies key global tourist markets and niches upon which to concentrate its efforts. The UK is then branded and (re)produced in way which matches what it understands each market and niche to want from its UK tourism experience. As such the UK is (re)produced in a different way from market to market and niche to niche[14] [15] [16].

The tourist industry deliberately (re)produces places as destinations at the tourist destination itself and outside it, in the tourist generating regions[17]. In so doing, it deliberately (re)produces intended discourses of place which have important ramifications for cultural spatialization of those places and the people who reside within them (and is exemplified here by the work of BTA Sydney in Chapter Five).

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[12] See Wilson (1992).

[13] Kotler (1988) defines marketing as, "a social and managerial process by which individuals and groups obtain what they need and want through creating and exchanging products and value with others" (p3).

[14] See Chapter Five for more details specifically relating to how BTA Sydney (re)produces the UK for Australian markets and niches.

[15] See Cloke & Perkins' (1998; forthcoming) discussion on the branding of New Zealand.

[16] Local government tourism organizations like Kirklees Metropolitan Council's Department of Tourism operate on smaller budgets with less staff and are not able to execute campaigns of the sophistication associated with the BTA's. In 1997, Kirklees' Department of Tourism handled a budget of £60-£70 000 and as such (re)produce the Kirklees area for a more generalized leisure tourist and in an even more limited way as a place in which to conduct business (Bryon-Edmond 1997).

> "The tourism industry reproduces discourses about places through the production of tourism marketing texts, through the facilitation and management of staged cultural attractions and 'natural' spectacles, and through material intervention in the landscape." (Norton 1996, p358)[18].

Place (re)production is obviously evidenced by the promotional practice undertaken by the tourism industry which includes; advertizing, sales promotion, personal selling, public relations, direct marketing, sponsorship and printed communications. It is one of the most significant means of (re)producing place as destination in the tourist generating regions and is usually designed to be experienced by a designated market of prospective tourists directly and/or by the facilitators of their tourism experience. It is considered to be very important for the generation of, or increase in tourist visits and spend and, in order to be effective at achieving these ends, intends the (re)production of destinations which anticipate tourists' every need and want.

A significant feature of promotional practice is the conscious creation and promotion of positive place images (like those depicted in Figures 5.1, 5.2 and 5.3) (Calatone *et al* 1989; Echtner & Ritchie 1991; Ahmed 1991a,b; Bramwell & Rawding 1996)[19]. Images of this kind are described by Gunn (1972) as **induced** and constitute that part of the destination imagery generated by the tourism industry's promotional practice. Positive place images are important because they are understood to be enduring or "sticky" (Assael 1992) and to have an influence on the production of attractive imagined geographies of place. Research furthermore, demonstrates that places with strong positive images are more likely to be considered and chosen as tourist destinations (Goodrich 1978; Woodside & Lysonski 1989)[20] [21].

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[17] This may be significantly influenced by the governing organizations of the place concerned as in the UK and New Zealand (Cloke & Perkins 1998).
[18] See also Gold & Gold (1995).
[19] See Dichter (1964) for a delineation of positive brand image components.
[20] See also Echtner & Ritchie (1991), Stabler (1992), Telisman-Kosuta (1989), Gilbert (1991, 1993a), Hunt (1975) and Pearce (1989).
[21] Ahmed (1991a,b) finds negative place images to be sticky too and difficult to reverse by marketing efforts.

Promotional practice thus (rather like much television drama) typically (re)produces mythologized destinations and sights (Barthes 1957; Rojek 1997) inhabited by mythologized peoples (and is clearly "in the business of selling myths" (Selwyn 1993, p127))[22]. Cloke & Perkins (1998; forthcoming) for example, find that marketeers in New Zealand (re)produce the country and by implication the people in residence there as a, "thrill seekers paradise..... one big adventure park, glossing over facts of nature, landscape, heritage and the everyday lives of New Zealanders" (1998). Norton's (1996) analysis of tourist brochures depicting East Africa, reveals how cultural and environmental images are constructed and manipulated to (re)produce a romantic discourse which places wild animals and primitive cultures in prehistory. The brochures further imply that East Africa is a place and people devoid of civilization, history and modernization. Goss (1993) similarly finds in his examination of tourist brochures produced by the Hawaii Visitors Bureau (HVB), that the photography used idealizes place and people and that the advertizing discourse as a whole mystifies Hawaii into a signifier of alterity.

Whilst this mythologizing might seem to be of little consequence other than to fulfil marketing objectives, it importantly serves to construct ideological meanings concealed within subtle but powerful discourses (Crawshaw & Urry 1997)[23].

> "The production of marketing texts, such as tourist brochures, is perhaps the most obvious way that discourses about tourist places are represented. The apparently innocent representations contained in these marketing texts generate specific cultural meanings from particular ideological positions" (Norton 1996, p358).

Academic analysis of tourist brochures reveals how places and people are (re)produced in a way which is frequently conservative, incomplete, inaccurate and condescending. The mystification of places conjured up by tourism brochures can mask the reality. "[S]hiny illustrations and flattering text" (Britton 1979, p320) are used to overcompensate for the poverty of developing (and developed) world tourist destinations

[22] See also Selwyn (1996).
[23] See also Urbain (1989).

(Graburn 1976; Hughes 1992). References to indigenous peoples are typically rationalized, romanticized and patronized (Britton 1979). Norton (1996) for example reveals how people are treated like wildlife in the brochures of his analysis, just another attraction upon which to be gazed[24].

The (re)production of place and people in this way (and similarly to television) serves to distance them from the tourist and deny them the same reality appropriated to tourists and the places they inhabit. This may in so doing have the effect of mitigating tourists' concern for the impacts of their tourism on the destination and its residents. Drawing on Said's (1979, 1995) notions of identity involving the establishment of oppositions and others, Norton (1996) observes how East Africa is constructed as an 'other' in stark contrast to the West. Goss (1993) too documents how the HVB tourist advertizements construct an alterity in radical opposition to the modern world of its audience in the US and stresses how the rhetorical notion of 'otherness' is common to almost all tourist destination marketing. Like the 'other' places and peoples (re)produced in television film (see Chapter Two), the alterity (re)produced by the tourism industry is something that is minimized, not too exotic or disturbing (Britton 1979) and anchored to attractive notions of safety, familiarity and the benign. Cloke & Perkins (forthcoming) exemplify this in their work on adventure tourism in New Zealand and talk about how the fear associated with conquering the 'other' (nature in this case) is balanced with safety and include skydiving with instructors in their discussion.

Whilst place promotion is thus highly significant to the (re)production of place as destination in the tourist generating regions, it is also highly significant to the (re)production of place as destination at the destination which in so doing authenticates the imagery of anticipatory place promotions (Cloke & Perkins 1998). Cloke & Perkins (1998) suggest that tourism may be viewed as a cultural practice where tour operators (re)produce place as destination for tourists, where tourists attempt to understand that destination through its (re)production in place promotion and where this anticipated

[24] See Cohen (1993)'s interesting typology of tourist images of the indigenous; beautiful, cute, neutral,

(re)production is mirrored as far as possible by those producing the destination within the destination, (the providers of tourist attractions) and by the promotion of tourist experiences within the destination (Hughes 1992). Goss (1993) too understands that tourism promotional practice forms part of a hermeneutic circle which links representations of a tourist destination to the actual tourist experience by creating a set of expectations that the tourist industry is designed to accommodate where "[b]oth the image and the actual physical setting have been manipulated and manufactured so that they correspond" (Relph 1976, p59)[25].

Place promotion thus can also be understood to have a significant impact on the way place is (re)produced as destination within the tourist destination and is most obviously evidenced by the tourist industry's deliberate (re)production of geography. Developers may however also deliberately seek to (re)produce the history of the place as well. A nostalgic past may be manipulated and manufactured in the name of heritage but rather ironically in its ratification of the historic erase a vast amount of history. Heritage too may involve the restaging of the outmoded as the historical, and the restaging of one time everyday as special and exotic history (Crang 1996; Waitt & McGuirk 1996). An authenticity may also be deliberately (re)produced,

> "[R]ather than being naturally given, authenticity in tourism is held to have been produced by a variety of entrepreneurs, marketing agents, interpretative guides, animators, institutional mediators, and the like" (Hughes 1995, p787).

Like film theory, issues of authenticity and reality have attracted the attentions of those undertaking tourism research (Hughes 1995; May 1996). MacCannell (1973, 1976) set the agenda with his idea that tourists were 'alienated modern(s)' in search of the authentic missing in their own lives but still visible in the lives of others[26]. In recognition of this together with their own capitalist interests, tourism developers have increasingly concerned themselves with constructing a reality which on occasion may

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exotic and comic.

[25] See also Cohen (1993).

[26] See also Wilson (1992).

become so authentic that it achieves a 'hyper-reality' (Baudrillard 1983) where the simulated authenticity becomes more real than the phenomena for which it represents (Hughes 1995). MacCannell's research focuses on the staging of authenticity for tourism and draws from Goffman's (1959) structural division of social establishment into front (the meeting place of hosts and guests) and back regions (the areas where members of the home team retire between performances to relax and to prepare). MacCannell delineates a continuum of six stages between these two regions and links them by a series of front regions decorated to appear as back regions set up to accommodate outsiders and back regions which comprise social space which motivate touristic consciousness. However, whilst the staging of authenticity is much criticized it can serve to mitigate the negative impacts caused to host communities as exemplified by the staged tourist attractions described by Buck (1977) existing in the Amish community in Lancaster County, Pennsylvania. Buck finds that brochures advertizing staged tourist attractions implicitly encourage tourists to move from contact with the indigenous population which thus protects the community from the pressures of mass tourism.

This (re)production of place as destination not only has significant consequences for the place itself but is highly consequential to those who live there as they and meanings about them become (re)produced. Local traditions are modified to become more attractive to tourists, religious observances are transformed into tourist spectacles and indigenous people are frequently employed as stereotyped stage props and mobilized to interact with tourists in a highly contrived convivial manner (Morris 1995; MacCannell 1996). Goss (1993) describes this behaviour (with reference to in-bound Hawaiian tourism) as *aloha* and reveals how it is understood to be a valuable tourist resource. Place promotion too has an important part to play in the commodification of tourism places as tourist destinations as their peoples are packaged for exchange by a promotional practice rooted in a dynamic of sign/image construction/manipulation (Watson & Kopachevsky 1994; Cloke & Perkins 1998). Following from those that have documented the powerful adverse effects of the colonial experience and the traits advanced by imperialists on the personality and outlook of people living in the

developing world (Hagen 1962; Fanon 1963; Lowenthal 1972), Britton (1979) reveals how old colonial traits continue to be perpetrated by tourist industry imagery and how people are expected to conform to dictated roles, be contemptful of everything indigenous and to believe that real places only exist where 'civilization' is. His work interestingly demonstrates how some indigenous people appropriate the advertized stereotypes as behavioural models, the difficulties many have in living up to them and the reactions some people have against the stereotypes. People's feelings or emotional work (Urry 1990a) are thus systematically exploited and commercialized in the name of profit. Their cultures too are packaged and priced as commodities in the name of tourism which is described by Greenwood (1978) as being perverse and a violation of people's cultural rights[27].

Some academics argue that tourism is best understood in the context of commodification and contemporary consumer culture (Watson & Kopachevsky 1994)[28]. Whilst some would dispute this, most would acknowledge that the increasing commodification of tourism has significant impacts upon places and the people, culture, nature and phenomena therein (Cloke & Perkins forthcoming)[29]. In support of this, Ritzer & Liska (1997) drawing from Ritzer's (1996) work on the McDonaldization of society have suggested that the transformations occurring in tourism constitute a part of advanced modernity, a McDisneyization where tourist destinations have become increasingly places where people can seek out and are satisfied by tourist experiences which are predictable, efficient, calculable and controlled (Boorstin 1961; Rojek 1993)[30]. The global culture of tourism has resulted in tourist destinations increasingly resembling

[27] Pearce (1995) proposes a sustainable socio-cultural tourism development to mitigate this.

[28] See Best (1989) who traces the conceptualization of commodity through the work of Karl Marx, Guy Debord and Jean Baudrillard.

[29] Cloke & Perkins (forthcoming) delineate two main approaches adopted by tourism researchers in the study of tourism and commodification. One relies largely on Marxist and neo Marxist ideas and is discussed as a product of the society of the commodity, spectacle and simulacra (Best 1989; Debord 1983; Cloke 1993). Others challenging the notion that commodification is a process which translates in a similar way at all places adopt an alternative approach that holds that commodification should be viewed as the commercialization of cultural performance and the places in which it occurs and realized differently in different places.

[30] Boorstin (1961) describes the elaborately contrived indirect experience offered by these kind of tourist attractions as pseudo-events.

other tourist destinations and, the generating regions tourists have left behind (Connell 1993; MacCannell 1996). Tourism has also become increasingly less like its alternative, work (Watson & Kopachevsky 1994). As tourism becomes increasingly homogenous and generic with its emphasis on ubiquitous total quality management standards of service and generation of placeless places, tourists have demonstrated a nostalgia for real and authentic travel experiences (Relph 1976). A second order of tourism has thus evolved which attempts to (re)produce the real or authentic (as opposed to the staged authentic discussed earlier) and is exemplified by the emergence of an independent alternative tourism market which utilizes authenticity as a major marketing principle (May 1996).

These same processes and practices of tourism which deliberately (re)produce place as destination additionally and quite deliberately (re)produce people as tourists. People and meanings about them are deliberately (re)produced by a massive tourism machine throughout people's experience of tourism which in so doing (re)produces quite intended discourses about them. Prior to travel, people are bombarded by the promotional practice of many places which is importantly implicated in their (re)production as tourists. Goss (1993) observes how the marketing of tourist destinations is simultaneously implicated in the construction of place imagery and the constitution of subjects who experience that image in specific ways.

> "Experience is inevitably mediated by promotional and other antecedent texts read by the tourist before departure and at the destinations by the representation strategies of the tourist industry itself" (Goss 1993, p686)

We thus, "go more and more where we expect to go" (Boorstin 1961, p117). Promotional practice serves to establish a set of expectations, to organize places before people actually visit them (MacCannell 1976) and to provide a framework for people's practice of tourism[31]. Most of the Australian tourists I worked with for example described the UK being very much as they thought it would be (see Chapter Six). It

[31] See Goss's (1993) work on tourist brochures.

aesthetically validates what is worthy of viewing and/or visiting, "the postcard and brochure serve as especially influential arbitrators of what is appropriate sight and knowledge" (Crang 1996, p437) and provides an itinerary of sites to be seen, "contemporary tourism is organized to present an itinerary of photogenic objects to visitors" (Goss 1993, p672). Promotional practice additionally serves to (re)produce quite specific tourist behaviour and prefers the (re)production of some people as tourists to others; white, middle class, heterosexual couples, families or groups would seem to be especially preferred (Crawshaw & Urry 1997). People's collation of information from maps, books, guides and other people (and their stories) further contributes to their (re)production as tourists. People are told how to get to the tourist destination, when to go, what to take with them and even why they are travelling there. Before they set foot in the destination, the information they encounter will (re)produce their experience at the destination; they will know how to get around the destination, how to manage their budget, what to see, what to do, what to buy, what to eat, what to drink, what to wear, which places and people to avoid and, how to address and interact with the 'other'. This is in part evidenced by the similarity of the tours undertaken by the Australians I worked with (see Chapter Six). At the destination, people's (re)production as tourists will be sustained by further promotional practice and complemented by other practices and processes associated more with destination development, operation and management of tourism. These processes and practices manifest themselves in many different ways; videos on transit buses, 'welcome' meetings, tour representatives, maps, itineraries, recommendations, viewing points, sightseeing tours, signage, public and private hire transportation, hotel security guards and other tourists. Even the 'unpackaged' independent tourist will not escape being managed in some way by the tourism machine. People's (re)production as tourists furthermore does not stop when they return home. As they unpack their travel paraphernalia and memories they will undertake processes and practices of tourism which will sustain their own (re)production as tourists. As they distribute their souvenir merchandize, exhibit their videos and photographs and share their stories of travel they may in so doing, continue to (re)produce place as destination and initiate the (re)production of others as tourists.

Television is utilized by the tourism industry to deliberately (re)produce place and people as destination and tourist respectively. It is typically used as a promotional practice at tourist generating regions and is designed to anticipate intended practices of tourism and discourses relating to them. It is however, very expensive and is thus a promotional medium more usually employed by larger tourism organizations. Tourism organizations therefore can purchase advertizing space from commercial television networks which is often screened following the Christmas period, a time market researchers have identified as being important for the planning and purchasing of tourism products and services. Tourism organizations can also sponsor specific television film items. Going Places, (a large travel agency group in the UK) for example, sponsors London Weekend Television's *Blind Date* and provides holidays which are depicted in the programme as prizes. Tourism organizations can also produce promotional videos depicting their product or service which may be distributed directly to tourists or via tour operators or travel agencies. Videos can also be used at the destination and usually serve to provide information, to promote specific destination products and services and to validate the tourists' decision to travel to the destination concerned. Souvenir videos of the destination may also be available for consumption at home following travel (see later discussion in this chapter on the consumption of tourism and video). Tourism organizations can also persuade television channel networks to feature their product or service on travel shows like Thames Television's *Wish You Were Here* and BBC 1's *Holiday*. In contrast to advertizing, sponsorship and video production, travel shows are perceived to provide a prolonged and more objective representation of tourist destinations and as such can be more effective in terms of promotional practice when the destination is represented positively. However, tourism organizations have less control over how destinations are (re)produced on screen because the travel show's production team (re)produce them in ways which meet the travel programme's particular objectives and agenda.

In addition to this, tourism organizations may also choose to utilize a place's tele-filmic connections in their (re)production of place as destination. This may be undertaken within tourist generating regions and be most obviously evidenced by promotional practice which might include branding exercises and the production of print incorporating references to and photographs of actors and sets (see Appendices A, B and C for example). This may also be undertaken at the tourist destination itself and be evidenced by the tourist development and operation there which might include organized tours of tele-filmic sites, exhibitions and museums depicting the tele-filmic connections places have and the sales of tele-filmic merchandize.

This part of the chapter has thus far focused on processes and practices specifically relating to the very deliberate (re)production of place and people by the tourism industry. However, it is also important to emphasize how this (re)production is complemented (and complicated) by processes and practices relating to a variety of other phenomena which are not be linked to tourism at all. Prior to travel, people become aware of, derive information about and generate imagined geographies of places from their direct and indirect experience of them. Where people's direct experience of place is positive they may (re)produce the place as a future tourist destination in their own mind which may in turn bring about their own (re)production as a tourist. People also experience place indirectly by exposure to place representations (or more specifically, files of representation (Rojek 1997)) which may include; painting (Daniels 1993), photography (Crang 1996; 1997), packaging (Cloke 1993), film (Aitken 1994a), postcards and posters (Butler 1990) and texts more generally (Barnes & Duncan 1992)[32]. Geographers' work on place representation typically emphasizes visual representations although some does explore place representations which appeal to our senses of hearing[33] (Pocock 1974; Smith 1994), taste (Game 1991), smell (Shields 1991) and touch (Game 1991)[34]. These

[32] See also Chapter Six for those place representations that most impacted upon the Australian tourists' imagined geographies of the UK.

[33] Place can also be represented by other people's stories of place (oral place representations) which may be based on fact, fantasy or be a combination of both.

[34] See also Pocock (1993) who argues that cultural geography encourages people to neglect the rôle of all senses in structuring and experiencing place and space.

place representations not only make people aware of and informed about places, they also facilitate the creation of **organic** place images (as opposed to the induced images discussed earlier) which are understood to exert a stronger influence over the creation of overall place images (Argiroudis 1993) and in turn provide material for people's imagined geographies of place. Gunn's (1972) research demonstrates how organic images are generated from people's assimilated exposure to historical and geographical studies at school, newspapers, books, television, politics, magazines and other information (and again emphasizes the visual). And, in order for these place representations to facilitate the (re)production of place as destination and to prompt the (re)production of people as tourists, the representations have to be highly attractive in some way and plentiful, the "proliferation of markers frames something as a sight for tourists" (Culler 1981, p132). However, despite Butler's (1986, 1990) and Squire's (1994b,c, 1996) documentation of the ways in which literature and film (re)produce place as destination and people as tourists, there is a paucity of academic research which specifically focuses on how and why representations of place facilitate the production of tourism (although it is possible to make some conjectures from research more concerned with people's consumption of tourism which is discussed in the next part of the chapter).

Television film too screens representations of place and is an important but often unwitting agent in the production of tourism. The research discussed in Chapter One relating to how interest in and visits to places increase(s) following their appearance in television film clearly reveals that television film is importantly implicated in the (re)production of place as destination and people as tourists (Riley & Van Doren 1992a,b; Riley 1994; Riley *et al* 1998; Tooke 1994; Tooke & Baker 1996). However, aside from Riley & Van Doren (1992a) describing how filmic representations of place act as 'pull'[35] factors situated in 'push'[36] locations and Cohen (1986) describing how places do not just have to be locations for films for them to become attractive to tourists (she describes how the places that film characters come from or an allusion to a place in the film can serve to (re)produce it as destination), little research has been undertaken to

[35] Factors which attract the tourist to a given resort and whose value is seen to reside in the object of travel.

explain television film's relationship with tourism production. It is indeed an objective of this thesis to address this lacuna.

Whilst this part of the chapter has considered a variety of processes and practices which constitute the production of tourism it has omitted to consider those which relate more directly to the meanings generated by consumers of tourism (and which become incorporated into our everyday lives and ultimately foster new moments of production). The relationship between the production and consumption of tourism is therefore one which is dynamic and premised by the complex interactions between producers and consumers of tourism (Squire 1994c). Tourism consumption is therefore considered to constitute an important part of its own (re)production and is investigated in the next part of the chapter (Urry 1987; Gilbert 1993b).

The Consumption of Tourism

> "[T]he consumption of tourist services is important yet by no means easy to understand and explain. The importance derives from the centrality of tourism activities in modern societies". (Urry 1995, p31).

Whilst a variety of processes and practices are constitutive of the consumption of tourism more generally, this part of the chapter considers those that constitute the consumption of tourist destinations and meanings about them (and the people and phenomena therein) more specifically. It examines how these processes and practices derive from tourism undertaken in a highly deliberate way; that is, where people appropriate specific slots of time in which they knowingly 'do' tourism or how they may be undertaken in ways which are not indistinguishable from other kinds of cultural practice and not obviously tourism linked (Urry 1990a). This part of the chapter furthermore considers how television film relates to these processes and practices and

[36] Factors which refer to the tourist as the subject and deal with that predisposing them to travel.

provides a theoretical framework for Chapter Six's investigation of the ways in which the Australians I worked with consumed UK tourism.

Despite consumerism being such a paramount cultural form in the contemporary world (Baudrillard 1988), where tourists become customers in a global supermarket (Selwyn 1993), there is a paucity of research undertaken by academics on people as consumers of tourist experiences and no sense of the complexity by which tourists can gaze upon the same set of objects and read them in quite different ways (Urry 1990b; Squire 1994a; Norton 1996)[37] [38]. What does exist however, is underdeveloped and indicative of the productionist bias which concentrates on the texts and iconography of promotional practices (Urry 1990a). This part of the chapter however, evaluates research which relates to the consumption of tourism and begins by considering that which specifically relates to the consumers of tourism themselves, the tourists. It considers where tourists tour from, what tourists are like, where tourists tour to, tourist consumer behaviour, tourism imagery and motivations for touring.

Despite tourism being the largest industry in the world and framing such massive and continuous flows of people to and from places, it is still an unobtainable luxury for the majority of the world's population. The propensity of people to act as tourists is influenced by a number of factors relating to themselves, (holiday entitlement, educational attainment, mobility, race, gender, health and life-cycle stage) and the generating region and culture in which they reside and belong. Indeed,

> "the cultural experiences offered by tourism are consumed in terms of prior knowledge, expectations, fantasies and mythologies generated in the tourist's origin culture rather than by the cultural offerings of the destination" (Craik 1997, p118).

[37] Apart from specially commissioned consultancy studies and market research.
[38] This paucity of research is perhaps explained in part by the relative difficulty of access researchers have to tourists (Norton 1996). See also Chapter Four.

However, international tourism predominates amongst those with a high discretionary income who reside in generating regions with high levels of economic and technological development, political stability and urbanized populations (like Australia). Demand is thus heavily concentrated in western Europe and North America but is significantly increasing from countries in East Asia and the Pacific (Cooper 1993b). The major generating countries of international tourism, based on tourist expenditure are delineated in Table 3.1.

Table 3.1: Top 10 Generating Countries of International Tourism Receipts - 1996

Rank	Country	Tourism Expenditure (US$ M)	% Share of Worldwide expenditure
1	Germany	50 815	13.40
2	US	48 739	12.86
3	Japan	37 040	9.77
4	UK	25 445	6.71
5	France	17 746	4.68
6	Italy	15 516	4.09
7	Austria	11 811	3.12
8	Netherlands	11 370	3.00
9	Canada	11 090	2.93
10	Russian Fed.	10 723	2.83

Source: WTO (1998).

Patterns of tourist demand are difficult to establish because the demand for the tourism product is so complex. In general however, tourists travel when they have the time and money to do so. Their travel is typified by its seasonality which may be the result of climatic changes, school and work holidays, fashion and special events held within the destination. Those that are able to act as tourists constitute a very heterogeneous group of people of which many typologies and classifications exist[39]. Like television viewers (see Morley (1995) for example), tourists are regarded by some as "passive, gullible sponges who readily absorb the intended readings of marketing texts" (Norton 1996,

p359), "the lowest of the low.....the least perceptive, the most gullible, and generally most amazingly foolish of human beings" (Culler 1981, p128) and people who submit to and actually enjoy contrived attractions described by Boorstin's (1961) as 'pseudo events'. Other academics however regard tourists as creative individuals who use promotional practice to construct their own imagined and experienced geographies of the tourist destination, who actively participate in the creation of ideology and myth (Uzzell 1984) and who create their own fantasies, images and selves with tools provided by the tourism industry (Reimer 1990).

> "consumers should not be conceived of as merely passive receivers of cultural meanings produced by advertizers, for readers are actively involved in the production of meaning and are quite capable of making creative use of texts in ways unintended by the producer" (Goss 1993, p664).

However, most academic and industry typologies tend to classify tourists according to their level and type of interaction with the destination (Cooper 1993a). Mass tourists are typically placed at one extreme point of a continuum and alternative, green tourists at the other with a variety of different classes of tourists in between (Cohen 1972; Plog 1977; Smith 1989).

Whilst people have travelled to most places in the world, Europe and to a lesser extent, the Americas have for some time dominated international tourism in terms of tourist numbers (or arrivals) and receipts. More specifically, it is western Europe and North America that have given rise to a high level of geographical concentration of movement although countries in East Asia and the Pacific region have more recently emerged as destination regions of international tourism (Cooper 1993b). Tables 3.2 and 3.3 illustrate the ten top destination countries for international tourism in terms of arrivals and receipts.

[39] See Jokinen & Veijola (1997).

Table 3.2: Top 10 Destination Countries for International Tourism Arrivals - 1996

Rank	Country	Tourist Arrivals (000's)	% Share of Worldwide arrivals
1	France	62 406	10.49
2	US	46 489	7.82
3	Spain	40 541	6.82
4	Italy	32 853	5.52
5	UK	25 293	4.25
6	China	22 765	3.83
7	Mexico	21 405	3.60
8	Hungary	20 674	3.48
9	Poland	19 410	3.26
10	Canada	17 329	2.91

Source: WTO (1998).

Table 3.3: Top 10 Destination Countries for International Receipts - 1996

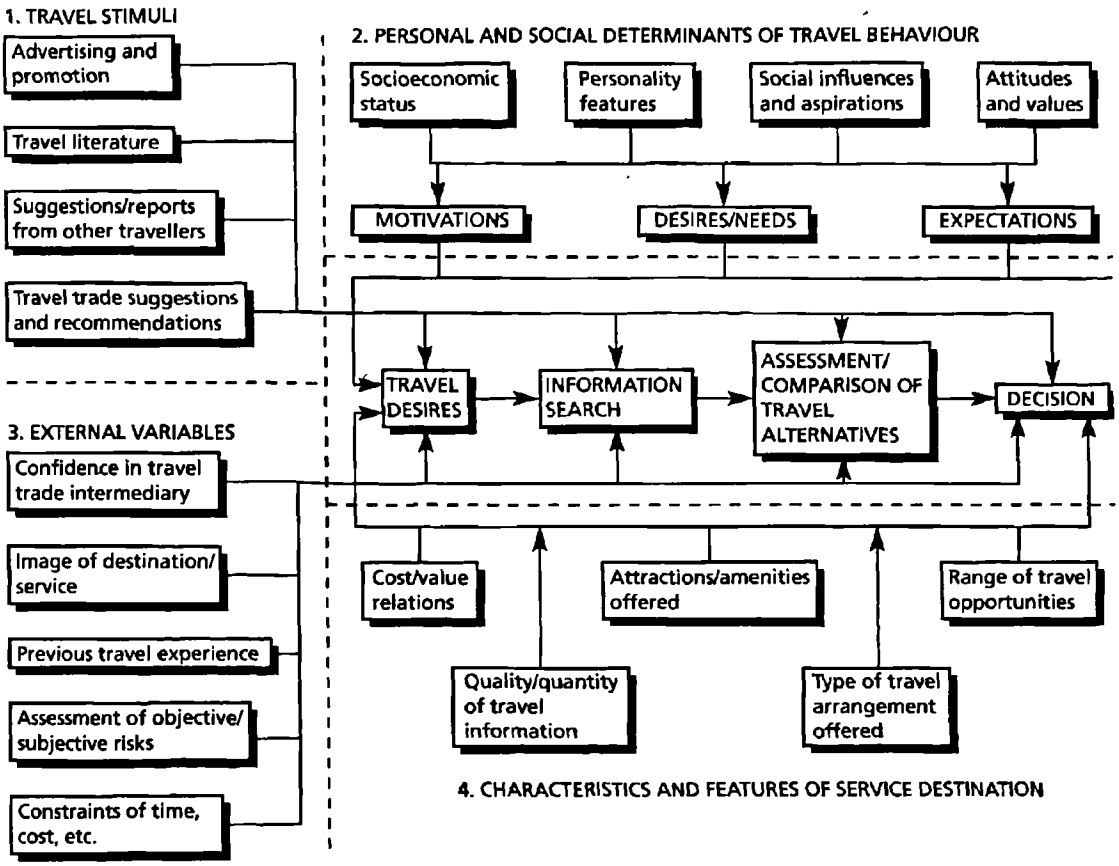
Rank	Country	Tourism Receipts (US$ M)	% Share of Worldwide arrivals
1	US	69 908	16.11
2	Italy	30 018	6.92
3	France	28 357	6.54
4	Spain	27 654	6.37
5	UK	19 296	4.45
6	Germany	17 567	4.05
7	Austria	13 990	3.22
8	Hong Kong	10 836	2.50
9	China	10 200	2.35
10	Switzerland	8 891	2.05

Source: WTO (1998).

Like the production of tourism, the consumption of tourism may be undertaken deliberately or be the result of undertakings whose main objectives are not tourism linked. It can take place within the tourist generating region and destination and continues throughout their experience of tourism; that is, before, during and following

travel from generating places, through transit spaces to destination places. Some tourism researchers have evolved models to help explain tourists' consumer behaviour which have evolved from those derived for consumer behaviour more generally[40]. Figure 3.3 depicts Schmoll's (1977) model of tourist consumer behaviour.

Figure 3.3: Schmoll's (1977) Model of Tourist Consumer Behaviour



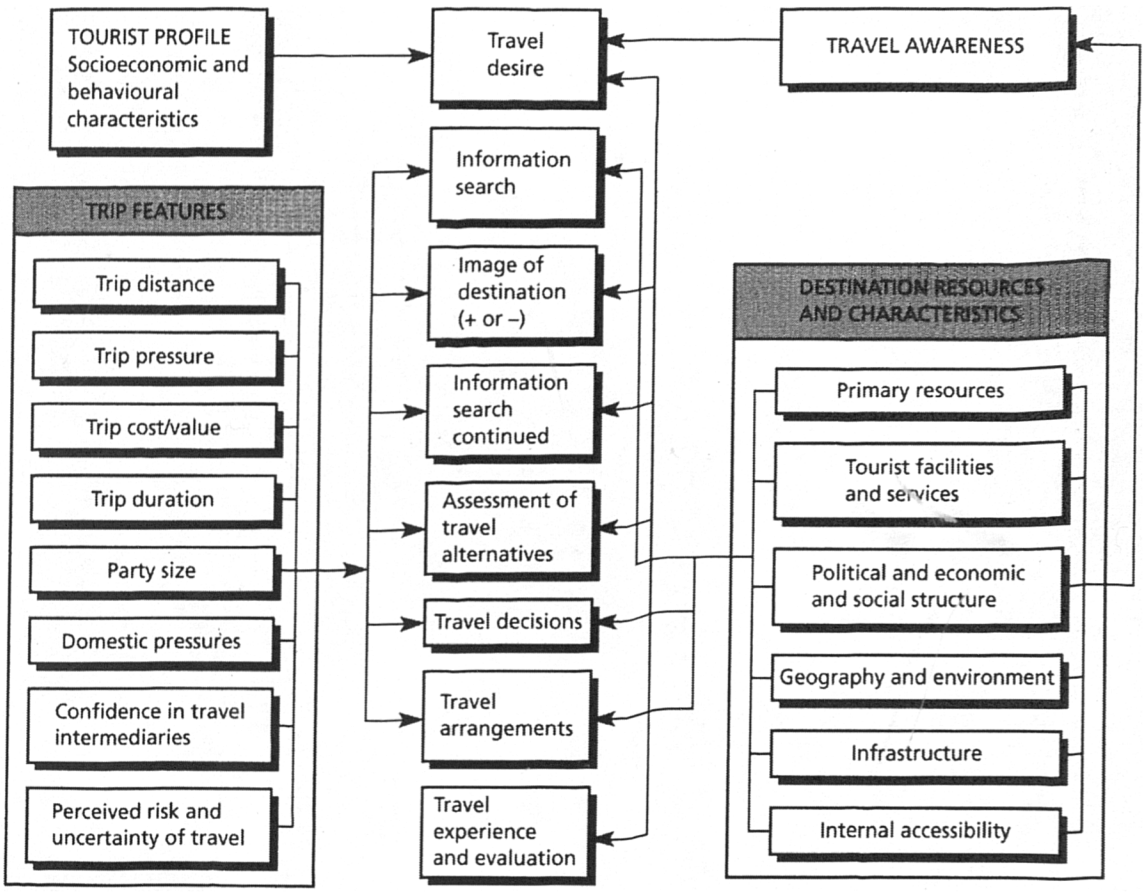
Source: Schmoll (1977).

This model includes notions of motivation, desire, need and expectation as personal and social determinants of travel behaviour which in turn are influenced by travel stimuli, tourist confidence, destination image, previous experience and cost and time constraints. The model comprises four fields; travel stimuli, personal and social determinants, external variables and characteristics and, features of the tourist destination which each

[40] See for example; Nicosia (1966), Engel, Kollat & Blackwell (1968) and Howard & Sheth (1969).

exert an influence on the final travel decision. Whilst Schmoll highlights many travel decision making attributes which influence tourism demand, his model only relates to tourist behaviour up to the point when a destination has been selected; it does not relate to tourist consumer behaviour whilst travelling to and within the destination or, behaviour incurred post travel[41]. Mathieson & Wall (1982) have however evolved an alternative model of tourist consumer behaviour which is depicted in Figure 3.4.

Figure 3.4: Mathieson & Wall's (1982) Model of Tourist Consumer Behaviour



Source: Mathieson & Wall (1982).

The model reflects Mathieson & Wall (1982)'s understanding that travel decision making involves five principal phases of travel buying behaviour; a felt need or travel desire, information collection and evaluation, travel decisions, travel preparation and

[41] See Gilbert (1991; 1993a).

experience and travel satisfaction evaluation. These are in turn influenced by the tourist's profile, their travel awareness, the trip's features and the destination's resources and characteristics. Tourism is additionally recognized to be a service product with the characteristics of intangibility, perishability and heterogeneity (Gilbert 1993b). The model incorporates the idea of the tourist being purposive in actively seeking information, the importance of external factors, actual experience at the tourist destination and following travel but omits important aspects of perception, memory, personality and information processing (Gilbert 1993a).

Other tourism research focuses more specifically on tourist decision making concerning tourists' choice of destination. A number of destination choice sets models have been proposed[42] and are summarized by Crompton & Ankomah (1993) who isolate an **early consideration set** - destinations considered by potential tourists to be possible vacation destinations and formulated from passive information collection, a **late consideration set** - derived from an initial active information search that enables the relative utility of destinations to be evaluated then retained or rejected to form a smaller number of probable destinations and, a **final choice decision** - which involves a more thorough active search to determine which destinations will be selected for serious consideration.

Other research on tourist consumer behaviour emphasizes the importance of image. Tourists possess a variety of images in connection with tourism which relate to themselves, the destination, transportation, operators, agents, tourism type and are highly subject to the tourists concerned (Telisman-Kosuta 1989; Gilbert 1993a). Much of the research undertaken on tourism imagery focuses on destination image (and was referred to in the previous part of the chapter) and, how destination images are formed by tourists[43]. Gunn (1988) for example identifies seven stages of image formation and typically places an emphasis on sight;

[42] See Sherrell (1977), Woodside, Ronkainen & Reid (1977), Thompson & Cooper (1979), Woodside & Woodside & Wilson (1985), Um (1987) and LeBlanc (1989).

1 - accumulation of mental images about vacation experiences

2 - modification of images through further information

3 - decision to take trip

4 - travel to destination

5 - participation at the destination

6 - return home

7 - modification of images based on vacation experience

Tourism researchers additionally emphasize the importance of motivation to tourist consumer behaviour although this is recognized as being at an embryonic stage of development (Dann 1981; Gilbert 1993a). Many draw from Maslow's (1943) hierarchy of needs and understand tourism to be an initially need related process where needs manifest themselves as motivations or energizers of action. A number of different motivations are discussed, McIntosh and Goeldner (1986) for example delineate four categories of motivation;

- **physical motivators** - related to refreshment of the body and mind, health purposes, sport and pleasure and, the reduction of tension

- **cultural motivators** - related to a desire to see and know more about other cultures

- **interpersonal motivators** - related to spiritual reasons or the desire to meet new people, visit friends or relatives, seek new and different experiences and to escape from routine relationships

- **status and prestige motivators** - related to personal development and/or ego boosting; the recognition and attention from others.

[43] See Mayo (1973), Phelps (1986), Gartner & Hunt (1987), Chon (1987, 1990, 1991), Gartner (1989) and Echtner & Ritchie (1993).

Whilst delimiting if not culturally contextualized, the tourist consumer behaviour models, destination choice sets, stages of image formation and motivation categories evolved by tourism researchers provide frameworks of understanding of how and why people consume tourism rather than an explication of tourist behaviour. They have also provided me with an important means with which to identify where, how and why television film may be implicated in the Australian tourists' consumption of UK tourism in Chapter Six and were instrumental in my design of the interview schedules referred to in Chapter Four (See Appendices F, H and I).

This part of the chapter has thus far however, provided frameworks of understanding rather than detailed knowledge which addresses why people consume tourism and how they go about it doing it. This next part of the chapter therefore considers why tourists tour, tourists' consumption of promotional practice, semiology, the tourist gaze and visual consumption, the touring body and, practices and processes of tourism consumption which are not specifically linked to tourism.

People undertake tourism for a variety of reasons which include getting as far away from one's day to day life as possible (May 1996), for transcendence with Otherness (Craik 1997), to define their own sense of identity (Jakle 1985) and to collect places (Relph 1976). MacCannell (1976) describes how people have become alienated by the conditions of contemporary life and undertake tourism in order to seek an authentic world whereas Ritzer & Liska (1997) in contrast examine how tourists seek out inauthentic experiences. Indeed, whilst my own encounters with the authentic have afforded what have turned out to be the most memorable and pleasurable experiences that I have incurred whilst being a tourist, they have never been the main prompt for my tourism anywhere at any time[44]. I have like others been very happy to experience the inauthenticity of places like Center Parcs at Longleat in the UK; a place which I believe has an authenticity of its own. In fact I am not sure how useful the dichotomy between authentic and inauthentic actually is, the very fact that so called 'inauthentic' places

exist is surely proof of their authenticity. Places like the hugely successful Disney 'lands' are not necessarily less authentic than other places (Cohen 1995) and in any case, as Greenwood (1982) and Crick (1989) observe, all culture is staged too. There are those therefore, that recognize that there is no authentic tourist experience and that the 'post tourists' concerned have moved beyond the desire of gaining access to an authentic backstage and thus avoid the anxiety that typically plagues such attempts (Feifer 1985; Urry 1990a,b).

People consume tourism in a variety of ways which include; listening to others' stories of travel, looking at others' photographs, studying tourist brochures and maps and discussing tour plans with travel agents and friends before travel. Whilst at the tourist destination we eat, drink, gaze, photograph, interact with the 'other' and purchase tourist souvenirs and tourist art (Cohen 1992) which translate the site, historical figure, remembered activity or experience into physical, durable and portable momentos[45]. We then remember, tell stories, distribute gifts and show photographs and videos when we return home. In so doing, we consume tourism; we consume the destination and its people directly whilst there at the tourist destination and indirectly through representations of them at the tourist generating region. Our consumption of promotional practice comprises a significant means by which we can consume the tourist destination and its people within the tourist generating region. However, whilst it is acknowledged as having an important rôle in the constitution of social subjects (Goss 1993) little research has been undertaken with the consumers of tourism to determine whether this is the case and indeed tourists' more general engagement with promotional practice. Norton (1996)'s research however is unusual in that it considers the production and consumption of tourism promotional practice. His empirical work demonstrates a number of discrepancies between the geographies of promotional practice and those articulated by tourists. He finds that tourists develop their own experientially based interpretations of place drawing from knowledge of other texts, personal experience and

[44] See May's (1996) exploration of how authenticity is negotiated by a range of tourists enjoying a variety of holidays.
[45] Squire (1994c) observes how shopping is integral to Beatrix Potter tourism in the Lake District.

social dialogue from the period of anticipation prior to the holiday, the tourist experience itself and during subsequent reflection. These latter geographies are described as being far more sophisticated than those (re)produced in the brochures of his analysis although partial in their inability to draw upon hidden discourses.

Like television film, academics have utilized semiological theory as a way of understanding tourism consumption. Promotional practice more generally can be understood to be a marker or information about a specific sight which often amounts to no more than the name of the sight, its picture, a plan or map of it (MacCannell 1976). Tourists' engagement with these markers is anticipated by pre-established notions or signs derived from a variety of tourism discourses and is very often the first contact a tourist has with a site (Urry 1990a). These markers can be understood to be an extension of Goffman's (1959) front region, the region which tourists initially seek to penetrate when encountering the tourist destination (discussed in the previous part of the chapter), and may exist in the tourist generating region and at the tourist destination. These two types of marker are referred to by MacCannell (1976) as 'off' and 'on' site markers (or signifiers) respectively and are instrumental in the anticipation of tourism practice so that,

> "[a]ll over the world the unsung armies of semioticians, the tourists, are fanning out in search of signs of Frenchness, typical Italian behaviour, exemplary oriental scenes, typical American thruways, traditional English pubs" (Culler 1981, p127.)

Following from the discussion in the last part of the chapter where tourism was understood to constitute a hermeneutic circle linking tourist destination representations or markers to actual tourist experience at the destination tourism markers have been found to provide a more satisfying experience for tourists than their actual experience of the sites (signified) they signify which thus affords the tourist a sense of disappointment (Rojek 1997)[46]. These markers may additionally make it difficult to really experience the

[46] I remember being disappointed seeing Sydney's Opera House for the first time in January 1997. I had been led to expect a pristine gleaming white architectural wonder from the photographic and tele-filmic

place of concern. Some academics for example understand that places do not in some sense literally exist and they exist rather through a variety of signs and symbols which afford tourists the most extraordinary selective, distorted and constructed experience of tourist destinations (MacCannell 1996). This is exemplified by my own experience of tourist sites marked by *Heartbeat*, *Pride & Prejudice* and *Remains of the Day* and documented in Chapter Seven. Like Meyerowitz (1985) I found that that the culture of television programmes eroded my actual experience of the places concerned.

This and other academic research concerning the consumption of tourism typically but importantly emphasizes the visual, sight and a tourist gaze (Urry 1990a). The concept of the tourist gaze is conceived as being structured by voyeurism and as such is normatively male (Mulvey 1981; Urry 1992a). Urry (1992a) traces back the gaze of his writings to an ocularcentrism of French social thought (which fixates on the dark side of the primacy of sight in this century) and explores Foucault's (1967) *Madness and Civilisation* where madness of the classical age is described as pure spectacle to be looked at, *The Birth of the Clinic* (1976) where there is a concern for the complicity of visual domination in the operation of power and *Discipline and Punish* (1979) where Bentham's model prison is described as the most explicit exemplification of the new ocular technology of power to discipline and normalize. Urry (1992a) rejects Debord's (1983) society of the spectacle for a society of surveillance and makes interesting observations on how many of these effects of the gaze have their equivalents in tourism. These effects include destination natives dressing and conforming to visitors' stereotypical ideas of what they should be like (and in so doing becoming the modern-day equivalent of the mad) and, how those living in tourist destinations (like Goathland, see Chapter Seven) feel like they are being gazed upon as implied by the panopticon.

The camera (both video and photographic) is emblematic of the tourist (Urry 1990). Practices and processes associated with photography are integral to many tourists' consumption of tourist destinations and people before, during and following travel.

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representations of it and not the yellowing chipped reptilian structure crowded by tourists in and outside it

Photography, like television, is a socially constructed way of seeing and recording and as such has a number of characteristics which are pertinent to video-recording as well (Urry 1990a). Photography appropriates the people and place being 'shot' or photographed and forms a relationship of power over them. It permanently captures icons, places, people and time and petrifies them into space which can be taken home and displayed (Crang 1996). Photography also transcribes reality (although its miniaturization of the real does not reveal its constructed nature or ideological content) and serves to prove that the tour actually occurred which may afford the tourist(s) concerned status (some tourists like to be photographed in destinations or next to sites of importance). It validates an itinerary (Goss 1993) and in its constitution of a spatial story (Crang 1997) catalyzes the tourist's semiological practice. It also beautifies the object being photographed, "[s]o successful has been the camera's rôle in beautifying the world that photographs rather than the world, have become the standard of the beautiful" (Sontag 1979, p85) although Urry (1990a) understands photography to typify the processes of postmodernism in the way that everything is homogenized by being turned into a photographic image (thus echoing Williams (1990) and his concept of 'flow' which were referred to in Chapter Two). Memories are then frequently structured by photographic practices and are the means or mnemotechnology (Crang 1997), by which tourists prompt their stories of touring back at home. Much photography is thus undertaken for the post travel experience, "events are framed for the future perfect" (Crang 1997, p365) as photography seizes and freezes a current moment and place for a future audience separated in time and space. Following from previous discussion therefore, (video)photography thus constitutes part of a tourism hermeneutic circle. Moving and still photographic images organize the tourist's anticipation or daydreaming about the place upon which they are to gaze and experience. Tourists' record what they gaze upon and partly choose where to go in order to capture these places on film[47]. The taking of photographs can thus become more important than the experience of the object being

(like myself) which I actually experienced.

[47] This capturing or shooting is more frequently undertaken by men. The spoils are then more frequently processed, arranged and displayed by women (Crang 1997).

photographed[48] (Crang 1996). These photographs are then developed and displayed (re)producing tourism meanings for the tourists' who manufactured them and for those that gaze upon them; future tourists.

However, whilst most academic research focuses on people's visual consumption of tourism, it is important to remember that people utilize all their senses whilst practising and consuming tourism. Following Vijola and Jokinen (1994)'s observation that the body is absent from the corpus of the sociological studies on tourism, Cloke & Perkins (1998) transcend the metaphor of tourist 'gaze' in their discussion more generally on adventure tourism in New Zealand. They usefully emphasize a whole embodiment of tourist practice and argue that tourists augment the gaze by actively and physically enduring some element of controlled danger through participation in physically challenging activities (bungy jumping, white water rafting and para gliding) in new and established landscapes often located in sites of scenic and often historic importance. Participants are afforded the opportunity to tame elements of the natural wilderness, to 'crack the canyon' and overcome nature. Cloke & Perkins (1998) thus demand new metaphors based on being, doing, touching and seeing rather than just seeing[49].

This final part of the chapter has thus focused on processes and practices of tourism consumption that have been derived from tourism undertaken in a highly deliberate way. It has not discussed those processes and practices that are the by-products of undertakings whose main objectives are not tourism linked. However, whilst Butler (1986, 1990) and Squire (1994b,c, 1996) document how tourism consumption processes and practices are prompted by people's experience of place representations including literature and film, there is a paucity of academic research specifically relating the practice of tourism consumption to phenomena not directly related to tourism. However we do know from our own and others' practice of tourism that phenomena not related to tourism may have an impact upon our consumption of tourism. Flicking through a magazine may for example create an awareness of a place. Photography or editorial of

[48] Photography does not simply record the event but is part of the event's very nature (Crang 1997).

attractive places may in turn (re)produce places into tourist destinations. Discussion with friends may impact upon our practice of tourism actually within the tourist destination; we might eat out at a particular restaurant or undertake a particular activity that they have recommended to us. And, reading a book about a place we have visited may invoke strong memories of our travel there back home in the tourist generating area.

Whilst watching television film clearly has an important and powerful relationship with tourists' practices and processes of consumption both at the tourist generating region and tourist destination there is an even greater paucity of research connecting television film with people's consumption of tourism. However, like its inter-connection with people's production of tourism, it is obviously exemplified by the huge increases in interest about and visits to places following their appearance on the small screen (Butler 1986, 1990; Riley & Van Doren 1992a,b; Riley 1994; Riley *et al* 1998; Tooke 1994; Tooke & Baker 1996), the tourism industry's utilization of place's tele-filmic connections in their (re)production of place as destination (discussed in the previous part of this chapter) and the concomitant positive and negative tourism impacts caused to locations' economic, environmental, social and cultural structures and, only documents the symptoms of television film's relationship with people[50] (Tooke 1994). In 1996, the YHTB (1996) revealed that tourism was worth approximately £1.6 billion a year to Yorkshire. It was estimated that between £10 and £20 million of this was related to people viewing Yorkshire destinations on television. The highest proportion of enquiries made to or in Yorkshire's 63 TIC's in the same year was also related to television dramas. As such, television tourism is very important to Yorkshire. In order to meet this interest, the Yorkshire & Humberside Tourist Board (YHTB) produced a map of film and television locations in Yorkshire for tourists (see Appendix E) (YHTB 1996). Whilst clearly, "[t]he power of the images created on the screen has motivated moviegoers to make a journey that the film's creators could not possibly have imagined" (Sanders 1989, p14), Chapter One revealed that little academic investigation on how or why this is so has

[49] See also Cohen (1997) and Atkinson (1997) who inter-connect tourism with sound.

been undertaken (Butler 1990; Riley 1994). What does exist is based on conjecture (Cohen 1986; Butler 1990) and, whilst Riley & Van Doren (1992a) conclude that motion picture film prompts tourism for reasons relating to escape, pilgrimage and the quest for untainted environments their only really consummate argument relates to the motion picture film as a form of information about place;

> "Motion picture films.....display(ing) the attributes and unique attractions of destinations within a film script. Extended exposure to tourist attractions though the medium of film allows potential tourists to gather information and vicarious knowledge, therefore lowering the anxiety levels caused by anticipated risk" (p269).

Conclusion

Chapter Two concluded by revealing that television film is an important and powerful agent in the production and consumption of culture and meanings more generally and, that tele-filmic places have an important and powerful agency in the production and consumption of place meanings more specifically. And, it was because of this that I suggested that television film is significantly implicated in the production, maintenance and negotiation of people's imagined geographies of place which in turn inter-connect with their experienced geographies of place. This chapter has contextualized this understanding of people, place and television film with specific reference to tourism. However, it does not only do this. It additionally (and, more importantly) produces knowledge which extends the suppositions made by Chapter Two and investigates the ways in which television film actually inter-connects with tourism.

Like television, tourism is an important part of many people's lives and as the chapter has emphasized is the sum of phenomena associated with the processes and practices that people engage in whilst acting as (business and/or leisure) tourists prior to, during

[50] Very often the place concerned does not have the carrying capacity to cope with the large increases in visitor figures associated with television screen appearances and experiences a series of negative impacts

and following their travel from generating places, through transit spaces to destination places and, the industry that produces the places, people and technologies which realize these phenomena. It is therefore about much more than just the stay and travel at a tourist destination and rather something much anticipated before travel and much remembered following its taking place. Tourism is the largest industry in the world and frames massive and continuous flows of people, culture and meanings (*Theory, Culture & Society* 1990). And, (like television film therefore) it is not only representative of culture but instrumental in its production, circulation and consumption too (Squire 1994a; Norton 1992; Rojek & Urry 1997)[51].

Television is employed by the tourism industry to deliberately produce tourism. It can take the form of advertizing, sponsorship, videos and travel shows and constitutes a powerful (and usually very expensive) form of promotional practice which is designed to elicit intended practices of tourism, tourism meanings and discourses relating to them. The chapter also described how tourism organizations utilize places' tele-filmic connections in their (re)production of place as destination and most obviously evidenced by their promotional practice. This tele-filmic promotional practice is distinguished by its portrayal of highly attractive tourist destinations which are produced by a production team utilizing the means and technologies described in Chapter Two. As such, (and like the tourist brochures described earlier here) the places (and their peoples) depicted are constructed to (re)produce ideological meanings situated in romanticized and mythologized discourses which mask the reality. Tele-filmic promotional practice provides us with a vicarious opportunity to tour these 'other' places in the comfort of our own homes and, with the protection of the television and its presenter (hooks 1996). Television (like photography[52]) appropriates and permanently captures the place and people being 'shot'; it confirms the normality of us and the abnormality of what we view thus placing us in position of power and superiority over what we gaze upon (Wilson 1992; Aitken 1994a; hooks 1996; Norton 1996). In so doing, tele-filmic

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which I have documented in previous research (Tooke 1994).

[51] Chapter Eight extends this discussion on the similarities that television film and tourism share.

[52] See Crang (1996).

promotional practice constitutes an important part of a hermeneutic circle which produces tourism meanings which are authenticated by the tourist destination (in the same way as tourist brochures[53]). Tourism developers and operators deliberately (re)produce the destination's geography, history and authenticity in order to corroborate the tourist destinations of the television. This (re)production of place as destination not only has significant consequences on the place itself but is highly consequential to those who reside there as they and meanings about them become commodified in the name of tourism. As such, television plays a part in the (re)production of places which are predictable, efficient, calculable and controlled and, increasingly like the place from which the viewer views and tourist tours (Ritzer & Liska 1997). Their homogenization also derives from the fact they are all (re)produced into tele-filmic images.

The tourism meanings produced by the hermeneutic circle (of which television film has such an important part) are concomitantly authenticated by the tourist. Television film has enormous power (as revealed in Chapter Two) in its anticipation of people's practice of tourism before, during and following their travel (Goss 1993). As an important antecedent text it serves to establish expectations prior to travel, organizes people's experience of place whilst there and is the mnemotechnology by which travel memories and stories are prompted back at home. Prior to travel, tele-filmic promotional practice (like promotion practice more generally) generates an awareness of places and plays upon our desires, needs, motivation and expectations. It furthermore generates induced destination images which were revealed here to influence the production of attractive imagined geographies of place and to have a positive correlation with people's consideration and selection of tourist destinations (Gunn 1972, 1977; Goodrich 1978; Woodside & Lysonski 1980). Television film thus acts as a powerful 'off' site marker or signifier for destinations and tourist attractions within them and may be the first contact a tourist has with a site (Urry 1990a). MacCannell (1976) describes how some sights have to be seen and become almost sacralized and delineates five stages of sight (or

[53] See Cloke & Perkins 1998).

tourist attraction) development which are also relevant to tourist destinations more generally;

- the naming phase
- framing/elevation
- enshrinement
- mechanical reproduction
- social reproduction

Television film plays a very important rôle in the sacralization and development of existing and new sites and places. It makes people aware that they exist, it elevates them by associating them with the 'exciting' world of television, it beautifies them in its technological (re)production (see Chapter Two), and it (re)produces them (for a mass audience) and can repeat this (re)production many times. It thus aesthetically validates what is worthy of viewing and provides an itinerary of sites to be seen, "the purpose of travel is less to experience unique and different places than to collect those places (especially on film)" (Relph 1976, p85). And, whilst obviously appealing to the visual, tele-filmic promotional practice also has an important relationship with the embodied tourism experience proposed by Vijola & Jokinen (1994) and Cloke & Perkins (1998) and, how people feel as tourists. It also serves to (re)produce quite specific tourist behaviours and prefers the (re)production of some people as tourists more than others. However, some research has revealed that tourism markers provide a more satisfying experience for tourists than the sites they signify which thus affords the tourist a sense of disappointment (Rojek (1997). People's experience of tele-filmic or 'reel' places may be more satisfactory than their real experience of them partly because of the way television film beautifies the places it represents. Television's (re)production of place may additionally make it difficult for tourists to have direct, genuine and real experience of places as images and signs attached to tourist places by television film crucially determine, mediate and distort how that place is seen and why these places are visited (Relph 1976; Meyerowitz 1985; Thrift 1994).

The chapter additionally emphasized how television film created for non-tourism purposes like drama series and serials, also inter-connects with processes and practices of tourism production and consumption. Indeed, most of the material and data discussed in Chapters One, Two and Three make reference to either motion picture film or television drama, and not tele-filmic promotional practice therefore. This would seem to indicate therefore that television drama and other programmes not designed with tourism in mind might have a more powerful inter-connection with tourism. And, whilst television drama was presumed to have a similar effect to tele-filmic promotional practice, one main difference was determined and related to the different kind of imagery produced. The research discussed suggested that viewing television film not related to tourism facilitated the creation of organic place images (as opposed to the induced images discussed earlier) which are understood to exert a stronger influence over the creation of overall place images and to provide more powerful material for people's attractive imagined geographies of place (Gunn 1972; Argiroudis 1993).

This chapter has thus contextualized the understanding of the inter-connections existing between people, place and television film established in Chapter Two with specific reference to tourism. It however, has more importantly revealed that television film (and tele-filmic place more specifically) is an important and powerful agent in the production and consumption of tourism and tourism meanings. Following from this therefore, I strongly suggest that television film has the potential to be significantly implicated in the production, maintenance and negotiation of people's imagined geographies of place *as realized by their practice of tourism* which in turn map onto their experienced geographies of them. However, in order to ascertain whether the suppositions I make in Chapters Two and Three translate into practice and, to further define and determine television film's inter-connections with tourism, I undertook a programme of research which focuses on the consumption of tourism and the voices of those involved. The following chapter, Chapter Four, Inter-Connecting Theory with Practice therefore describes this programme of research and follows from Bell (1995),

"…..an empirical programme of research rather than post modernist speculation might be the way forward for the cultural study of tourism" (p60).

Chapter Four: Inter-Connecting Theory with Practice

Introduction

Chapters One, Two and Three emphasized the significance of the relationship between people, place and television film in the context of tourism and investigated research which indicated that television film (and tele-filmic places more specifically) is an important and powerful agent in the production and consumption of tourism and tourism meanings. The research furthermore, strongly suggested that television film is significantly implicated in the production, maintenance and negotiation of people's imagined and experienced geographies of place as realized by their practice of tourism. In order to ascertain whether the suppositions I made in the previous chapters translate into practice and to further define and determine television film's inter-connections with tourism, I undertook a programme of research (including a substantial part of field-work) which placed an emphasis on the consumption of tourism and, the voices of those actually engaged in the practices of watching television film and 'doing' tourism. As such, it begins to redress the paucity of research undertaken by geographers and others on people's consumption of tourism identified in Chapter Three (Urry 1990a; Squire 1994a; Norton 1996) and the more general exclusion of lay discourse in academic discourse (Anderson & Gale 1992; Squire 1994a; Cloke *et al* 2000). This chapter documents the variety of methods I employed and the programme of research's three main foci;

- **Australians, tourism and television film** - this part of the chapter describes why I collected and analyzed material and data relating to Australians' more general practice of tourism and television viewing. It discusses how I undertook its collection and analysis, the difficulties I encountered doing this and the auto-ethnographic approach I adopt for part of this work. It also explores how and why research was undertaken on the production of tourism for Australians and, why I focused on the

work of the BTA and the way in which their promotional practice inter-connects with film and television depicting the UK.

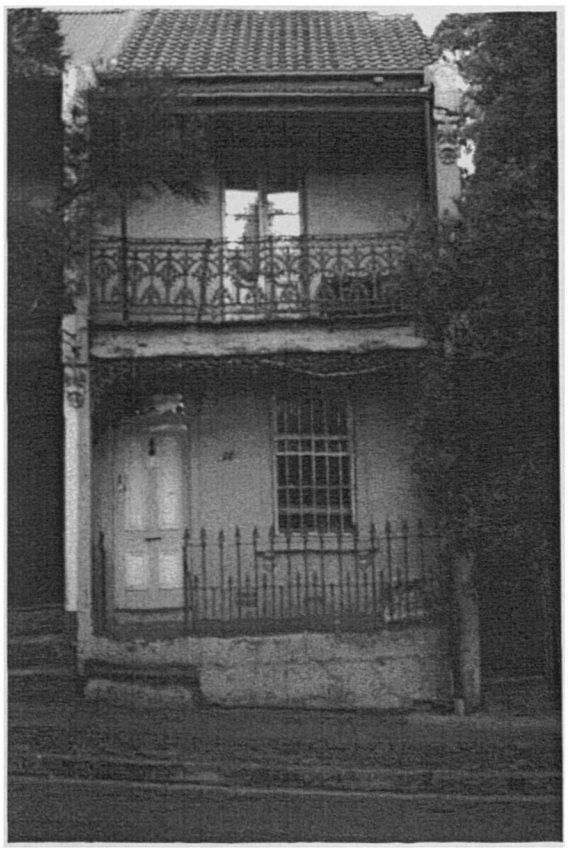
- **Australians' practice of (tele)tourism** - this part of the chapter explains why research with tourists was undertaken. It describes why Australian tourists travelling to the UK were chosen to work with more specifically and when, where and how this research was undertaken. It discusses why semi-structured interviews were utilized as the main methodology, how schedules for these interviews were designed and how the interviews themselves were undertaken, transcribed and analyzed. It also explains how this work was complemented by an analysis of tourist diaries, tourist records, my own research diary and memories.

- **an auto-ethnography of (tele)tourism** - this part of the chapter describes why I undertook tele-tourism prompted by Australian tourists for myself and how this research and its analysis were undertaken. It explains why the television series *Heartbeat*, the television serial *Pride & Prejudice* and the film *Remains of the Day* (screened on television) were selected for this research more specifically and how I undertook my tele-filmic analysis of them. It additionally describes a series of site visits I undertook to Goathland, Lyme Park, Lacock Village and Dyrham Park, (the key locations featured) and how and why this work was undertaken. This part of the chapter also discusses research material and data relating to Australians' viewing of *Heartbeat*, *Pride & Prejudice* and *Remains of the Day* and, their respective locations.

This programme of research and its findings have been contextualized by the literature reviewed in the previous chapters and my more general knowledge of Australia, Australians and Australia-ness (Australian culture) which in turn almost entirely derives from my fieldwork experience; that is, the sum of the places I lived in, worked at and toured to, the people and practice I experienced within them, the context for these experiences and my cognitive assimilation of them. Following from Chapter One therefore and the calls made by (amongst others) Haraway (1991) and McDowell (1992),

I think it is important write my position into this specific research practice. In summary therefore, I arrived in Sydney, Australia on Monday 13 January 1997 and lived there for 13 weeks. I then undertook three weeks of travel and returned to the UK on Thursday 1 May 1997. To begin with, I stayed at International House (IH), a catered hostel for international students situated on the University of Sydney's campus. Mealtimes here provided excellent opportunities for me to debate and/or witness the debate of subjects including Australia, Australians, Australia-ness with/by students from all over the world. Following a period of 2 weeks here I moved to a less expensive room inside the small refurbished nineteenth century terrace house depicted in Figure 4.1 and situated minutes from the University of Sydney's Department of Geography in Newtown[1], a suburb popular with many for its 'alternative' cultures and evidenced by tattoos, body piercing, fetish paraphernalia, uncloseted homosexuality and drugs.

Figure 4.1: My Australian Home



[1] Newtown once 'belonged' to Governor Bligh of *Bounty* fame (Muecke 1996).

I lived in this house with its family who were practising Christians and comprised Paul (30), an acting head for a privately-run preparatory school, Rachel (31), a check-in clerk for Qantas and their daughter Zoë (2). Living with this small family provided me with an excellent opportunity to observe and participate in a working case study of Australia-ness for 11 weeks.

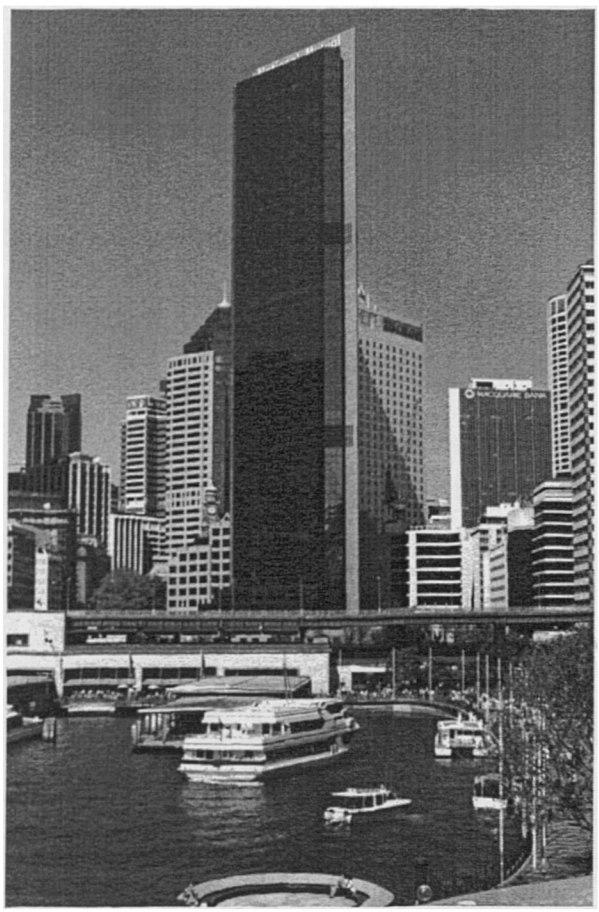
Most of my working time was spent in the University of Sydney's library and the Department of Geography which is depicted in Figure 4.2.

Figure 4.2: The University of Sydney's Department of Geography[2]

The Department comprised 12 academic staff, 31 post-graduate students and approximately 600 undergraduates. My interaction with and observation of these people

in addition to the academic material and data I researched and the lectures I attended provided me with rich contextualizing material for my work. I also undertook some of my research in BTA Sydney's office which is situated in the huge block of blue glass at Sydney's Circular Quay depicted in Figure 4.3[3].

Figure 4.3: BTA Sydney's Office



I additionally spent time looking for accommodation (I think I looked at around 15 houses and their occupants), travelling to and interviewing Australian tourists at home and at work, participating in aerobics classes, swimming and being a tourist at weekends. Being a tourist included attending events, visiting attractions, cafés, restaurants, bars and beaches, travelling on public transport (bus, train and ferry), meeting up with newly acquired friends and getting to know Sydney quite well. I also travelled from Sydney to

[2] The Department has since relocated premises.
[3] I describe BTA Sydney in more detail in Chapter Five.

the Blue Mountains and Wollongong and undertook a three week tour up the East Coast by train to Byron Bay, Brisbane, Hervey Bay and Fraser Island and Airlie Beach and the Whitsunday Islands[4] where I stayed in a variety of back-packer and youth hostels.

The places, people[5] and practices I experienced whilst in Australia furthermore not only served to situate my research but constituted an important auto-ethnographical methodology in its own right from which I have been able to make informed inferences about the Australians' experience of tourism in Chapters Five, Six and Seven.

Australians, Tourism and Television Film

Introduction

In order to produce knowledge which could be employed to investigate how (tele) tourism is produced for Australian tourists and, that part of the hermeneutic circle (referred to in Chapter Three) which produces tourism meanings I felt it was important to present, describe and examine material and data relating to Australians' more general practice of travel and tourism and, the production and consumption of television in Australia. I also felt that it was important to complement this work with an analysis of research relating to the ways in which UK tourism is produced for Australians and how the processes and practices involved inter-connect with television and film.

Australians and Tourism

I was able to collate ample information with which to contextualize my field work in the form of research material and data relating more generally to Australians' practice of

[4] A well trudged back-packer route.

[5] I had little direct experience of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islanders and decided against setting up a formal meeting through the Department of Geography as I felt that this had connotations of the "world-as-exhibition" kind of tourism alluded to in Chapter Three (Gregory 1994). My geography of these people is thus based on an almost entirely second-hand experience of them.

travel (both domestic and overseas) from travel agents, travel texts, the Department of Industrial Relations (anonymous spokesperson 1997), the Australian Bureau of Statistics (ABS)[6] [7], the Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade (O'Sullivan 1997) and the BTA. I also collected material and data relating more specifically to in-bound tourism from Australia to the UK and began my search in BTA Sydney's library. Although some of BTA's research is undertaken in-house, much is undertaken for them by other consultancies and organizations and at the time I was in Australia was contracted out to a market research company who had undertaken a variety of research projects using both quantitative and qualitative research techniques. I felt it would be appropriate to telephone this market research company's director to discuss my research with them and to see if they had undertaken research which was even more pertinent than that which I had already obtained from BTA Sydney. However, I was very surprised to find that the director seemed to be very annoyed by my telephone call, me and my research. They were very defensive about themselves, their organization and their research and seemed to be threatened by my undertaking research with the BTA. I was also very taken aback by their rude manner and strange and sarcastic comments relating to amongst other things Aboriginals not being 'big' on international travel and decided not to pursue the director or their organization for further assistance.

The BTA also hold research relating to in-bound tourism from Australia to the UK undertaken by other organizations like for example, the International Passenger Survey (IPS), the Department of Transport and Regional Development (Manoranjan 1997), Reader's Digest (Vaughan-Williams 1989), research consultancies like Nadia Negrine Research Pty Ltd (1993), Gardner Smith Associates (1995), In Perspective (1998a,b,c,d), and tourism students (Nicklasson 1996). Although this research provided me with information in regard of Australians' practice of tourism to, from and within the UK, I did experience difficulty relating to huge discrepancies in material and data collated by the ABS and IPS. For example, in 1995, the IPS recorded that 628 000 visits were

[6] Whose entire collection of publications was accessible to me locally at the University of Sydney's library.
[7] I additionally faxed and telephoned the ABS for more specific enquiries regarding areas of information not covered in their publications and was very impressed by the efficiency, speed, professionalism and

undertaken by Australian residents to the UK (BTA 1996b). However, the Australian Bureau of Statistics' figures presented quite a different picture. I was surprised to learn that they recorded that 265 400 Australians travelled to the UK in the same year (ABS 1996c). I eventually found that the large discrepancy between these two figures was explained by the different ways the data is collected by the IPS and ABS. The ABS survey departing rather than returning Australian residents and as such intentions rather than actual travel behaviour is reflected. The ABS figures thus can not allow for unanticipated changes made to travel itineraries during the course of an overseas trip. Furthermore, respondents are asked to record their main destination country only and will frequently record the first country that they intend to visit. The many other destinations visited by people choosing to travel to more than one country or visited as a stop-over during long haul travel will therefore not be accounted for by the survey. In contrast, the IPS[8], a continuous large scale survey of visitors entering and leaving the UK, records all visits made by Australian residents regardless of their route and visits to other destinations. Australian visitors therefore who travel directly to the UK, but leave to visit France and return to the UK again will be recorded by the IPS as two Australian visits.

Producing UK (Tele)Tourism

> ".....the texts of tourism must be challenged and denaturalized, representations of difference scrutinized and the meanings of social constructs unpacked" (Squire 1994a, p8).

Whilst I could have investigated the sources of a variety of tourist products and/or services operating in the industry like Qantas, Trafalgar Tours and Flight Centre, I chose to focus my examination on the BTA because most of the Australian tourists I worked with had been exposed to it, because the BTA's promotional practice has a powerful influence on the promotional practice of the entire in-bound tourism industry operating from Australia to the UK and because I felt that I could facilitate the execution of this

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friendliness of ABS staff.

research effectively. I furthermore chose to centre my attentions on the BTA's promotional practice in particular because of Chapter Three's revelation that it plays such an important and powerful part in the production of tourism and tourism meanings.

In order to do this research, I examined BTA Sydney's promotional policy and practice in respect of both consumers and the travel trade and emphasized tourism and television/film links. BTA's (1996a) *Market Guide for Australia and New Zealand* 1997-98 and other accompanying unpublished documentation which included annual reports, marketing opportunities, market forecasts, executive summary reports, business plans, personal correspondence between advertizing agencies, film distributors and the BTA, newspaper editorial and two undergraduate theses were obtained from BTA Sydney and BTA's head office in London for examination. I also surfed the BTA's internet site, http://www.visitbritain.com/ and analyzed their *Movie Map* (see Appendix D) (and research undertaken relating to its distribution in Australia) and the specific promotional material which Australian tourists I encountered were exposed to. In order to obtain this material I telephoned BTA Sydney and received a standard pack of material sent out to all Australian tourists making general enquiries which included a cover letter, maps, brochures and a guide book. I analyzed this material using a series of techniques which make reference to semiological theory and discourse analysis (see Chapter Two).

In addition to this I undertook a semi-structured interview with Donna Wales (the Head of Media Relations referred to earlier on in this chapter) which explored how her work related specifically to (tele)filmic material depicting the UK for similar reasons to those relating to my interviews with Australian tourists. In contrast to these interviews however, I faxed through a copy of the interview schedule depicted in Appendix J the day before the interview so that she could think about the questions before actually answering them. The interview was transcribed and analyzed in the same ways I

[8] Commissioned by the Office of National Statistics.

employed for the interviews I undertook with Australian tourists (which are described in the next part of the chapter).

Australians and Television Film

Despite several thorough electronic and manual searches, I was disappointed not to locate as much material and data relating to the production and consumption of Australian television as I would have hoped. Library sources were sparse, the ABS could only provide me with some data which I could not afford to pay for and, those organizations that did hold relevant material, (like for example the media research company, A.C. Nielsen) would not allow me access to it. And, what I was able to locate was not as recently produced as I would have liked (see Nugent *et al* (1992) for example). In order to mitigate this, I produced knowledge in relation to Australians and television film viewing which is largely the result of my own observation of and participation in Australians' viewing of television film. This part of the research is therefore highly subjective to me. It does not therefore attempt to reveal *the* truth about Australians and television film but is rather a limited, specific and partial truth and, a story which is part of a more pluralist landscape of many different narratives (Cloke 1994; Rose 1997). The knowledge is gained by the utilization of a variety of methods and an auto-ethnographical approach which mitigated some of the dilemmas associated with ethnography and arise from the tensions between the ethnographer's self and the ethnographer's attempt to describe 'other' subjects (Cloke 1994). However, unlike the auto-ethnographies proposed by Hayano (1979), Lejeune (1989) and Deck (1990), I was clearly not a native of the place, people or culture that I wrote about and did not attempt to do so as such an approach would have been neither possible nor desirable[9]. My practice of auto-ethnography rather calls into question realist conventions, objective observation and the notion of a coherent individual self (Denzin 1989; Reed-Danahay 1997). I thus adopt an auto-biographical approach, (one which is anticipated by Brandes (1982)) and inter-connect elements of my own life experience with academic and

[9] An approach of this kind also reinstates an empiricism and institutionalizes parochialism (Gregory 1994).

popular literatures and in so doing, (re)produce my own cultural and social frame of reference or 'post-ethnography' (Dorst 1989). I use this approach in a similar way to produce an auto-ethnography of (tele)tourism which is described in the last part of this chapter and Chapter Seven.

Australians' Practice of (Tele)Tourism

Introduction

> "In qualitative research one explores the realities of everyday lives as they are experienced and explained by the people who live them. Such research as this yields rich and complex linguistic data in which subjective experience and social action are 'grounded' in the contexts of both time, and place" (Burgess *et al* 1988, p310).

In order to produce knowledge with which to investigate people's consumption of (tele)tourism, it seemed highly appropriate to undertake research with those actually engaged in the practice of tourism and acting the research experience; that is, the tourists themselves and to incorporate the voices of those that so many others have talked about (See Chapter Two). I believed that tourists provided the best means of access to the meanings they attributed to their practice of tourism and, television film's relation to it (Burgess *et al* 1988; Cloke *et al* 2000).

Whilst undertaking research with any tourists would have been of much interest and value, I felt that working with **tourists travelling to the UK** (as opposed to travelling from the UK or, travelling to and from other countries) would be most apposite for the objectives of this thesis for two main reasons. The first related to my working knowledge and understanding of how the UK's in-bound tourism industry operates[10], and the second related to my familiarity (as a British native) of the UK as a place and destination and, of its (re)production in television film. I additionally felt that working

with tourists travelling to the UK **from the same generating region** would also be apposite for three further reasons. The first relates to access. I sought to work with tourists I could access with a relative degree of ease. Tourists are typically transient (Squire 1994a) and "difficult to catch" (Cooper 1993a, p13). Unlike other social practices which are undertaken throughout the year, the practice of tourism is highly seasonal making it more difficult for researchers to undertake qualitative research which frequently requires greater involvement from respondents. In order to maximize on time and effort and to generate in-depth information of quality, I felt it was practicable to work with tourists who lived in the same place. The second reason related to television film. It was my intention to work with tourists who had not only been exposed to much and a variety of television film depicting the UK but who were afforded the same kind of exposure. The third related to the distance existing between the generating region and the destination. I wanted to work with tourists that undertook long-haul travel to the UK. Long-haul travel typically involves extensive and complex decision-making because its purchase constitutes relatively high economic, physical, performance and psychological risks (Gilbert 1993b). As a consequence, people's decision-making is more apparent to them (Kotler 1991) and thus easier to identify and communicate. I furthermore sought to work with tourists who constituted a significant market for the UK and who could communicate in English to avoid the second-hand stories, additional costs and inconvenience of translators.

In order to meet these research criteria I decided to work with Australian tourists (residing in Sydney) travelling to the UK. I had anticipated that my gaining access to tourists represented one of the most difficult research challenges but felt that it could be made possible by working with the BTA at one of their 42 overseas offices. One of the largest of these is situated in Sydney[11], New South Wales (NSW), Australia and functions to promote the UK as a travel destination to Australians[12] [13]. It is a very busy

[10] See Chapter One for information relating to my experience of working in the tourism industry.
[11] See Chapter Five for further information on BTA Sydney.
[12] Sydney was the highest populated city in Australia in 1994 with 3 738 500 people representing approximately 21% of the Australian population (BTA 1997a).
[13] Furthermore, one third of the Australian population resides in NSW (BTA 1997a).

office and on average receives 3,000 tourism enquiries a month. 70-80% of these enquirers are people who have recently booked their travel to the UK. People visit, write to and telephone the office to collect information about air carriers, accommodation, visitor attractions and for advice with travel itineraries. BTA Sydney's office thus represented an ideal place to access people who were actually undertaking the practice of tourism[14].

Australians are furthermore exposed to a variety of filmic material depicting the UK screened at the cinema and on television where British television productions dominate the national public broadcaster, ABC (BTA 1997a). Australian travel to the UK also falls well within the definition of long-haul travel. Australians have to travel in the region of 21 125km to get to the UK on air flights which at best take 21.5 hours (Campus Travel 1996). Australia also constitutes a very important travel market for the UK[15] and the majority of its inhabitants can converse fluently in English.

In order to facilitate this fieldwork therefore, I was delighted to learn that I could work with the BTA and that I could enrol with the University of Sydney as a temporary student and work in their Department of Geography where I had negotiated access to administrative and academic support[16]. I also arranged to stay at IH, a hall of residence for international students for the first two weeks of my stay (with the intention of obtaining private accommodation whilst in Sydney).

Research with Australian Tourists travelling to the UK

I particularly wanted to work with Australians who were about to or who had just reserved their travel arrangements so that their imagined geographies of the UK and the travel decision-making that they and their companions had incurred would be very

[14] I was also very pleased to find that BTA's Sydney office was managed by Mary Lynch, the ex-General Manager of BTA Dublin who I had worked with on two occasions whilst employed by the London Tourist Board.
[15] See Chapter Five for further detail.
[16] I also established an academic network of tourism researchers working in the vicinity of Sydney.

familiar to them. I therefore decided to travel to Sydney at the beginning of January and work there until the end of April 1997 because Australians tend to plan and reserve their travel to the UK at the beginning of the year (BTA 1997a). However, in order to generate information and knowledge about the entire range of processes and practices that Australians become engaged in throughout their tourism experience, I additionally sought to undertake work with some of these same Australians during their experience of travel within the UK and following their travel to the UK. Whilst I had originally anticipated that some of the Australian tourists I interviewed before travel might return whilst I was still in Australia (and therefore afford me the opportunity of working with them following travel), most were not to travel until later on in the year or were not returning whilst I was still working in Australia[17]. I therefore recorded tourists' contact details and travel dates and undertook further work with them using a remote form of communication described later on in this chapter.

In order to produce knowledge about the Australians' practice of tourism to the UK (before, during and following their travel) in way which engendered an empathy between me and them, I decided to utilize semi-structured or semi-standardized (Berg 1989) in-depth interviews, (or encounters) as my main method. These interviews involved the implementation of predetermined questions asked in a systematic and consistent order but allowed for digressions and probings and were flexible enough to permit encounters with the unexpected. I felt that interviews or, "[c]onversations with purpose" (Kahn & Cannell 1957, p149) had advantages over other data collection techniques in that their prime currency, talk, is an ideal means with which to generate knowledge with people about themselves and to gain, "an authentic insight into people's experiences" (Silverman 1993, p91). Interviews also allow for a less exploitative and more egalitarian relationship between the researcher and their participants (McDowell 1992), permit greater depth and probing, have a higher response rate than questionnaires, provide information on non verbal behaviour[18], enable some control over the environment in

[17] Australians tend to plan and reserve their travel arrangements to the UK nine months to one year before their departure (BTA 1997a).
[18] See Birdwhistell (1970) on kinesics.

which the interview is conducted, enable spontaneity and provide greater sensitivity to misunderstanding. I was also highly familiar with this methodology and had interviewed 200 school children and 40 parents for two academic research projects in 1995. The rich quality of the data subsequently produced for these projects had starkly contrasted with my earlier work (Tooke 1994; Tooke & Baker 1996) where I had employed a questionnaire to interview 160 tourists. The questionnaire had provided fixed answers and an "other" section for most questions. When analyzing the results I felt that answers frequently did not represent tourists' own stories about their behaviour. The fixed answers had indeed directed tourists from their own truths to mine[19]. Observation (as participant and non-participant) was rejected as a method because I did not feel it was possible or preferable to practicably observe Australians' experience of tourism to the UK. Focus groups too were rejected as a methodology because individuals' stories become more homogenized in group situations and it is difficult to extract stories from shyer individuals. However, disadvantages regarding this type of research interview were anticipated and related to cost, time and an eagerness to please on the part of the tourist (Brent Ritchie & Goeldner 1987).

The questions were developed from objectives or "puzzlements" derived from Chapters One, Two and Three. Their organization was further derived from the tourist consumer behaviour and choice set models, the stages of image formation and the motivation categories explored in Chapter Three. Opening questions relating to administration and the completion of the Tourist Record depicted in Appendix G which were designed in part to make the tourist and myself feel at ease with each other and the interview situation. The questions on the schedule included; **essential questions** exclusively concerned with the central foci of the research and designed to elicit specific desired information, **extra questions** to check on the reliability of responses, **throw away questions** to develop a rapport and comprise less essential questions which would be of value for drawing out a complete story and **probing questions** to elicit more complete

[19] Hartmann (1988) has also argued that, "questionnaires often leave a wide gap between the verbal expression and the leisure lived or travel experienced" (pp89-90).

elaborate stories (Berg 1989). These latter type of questions were not included within the printed interview schedule and were only asked when it was appropriate to do so.

Whilst still in the UK, I designed the first interview schedule for use with Australian tourists prior to their travel to the UK (see Appendix F). The interview schedule was pre-tested by myself and reviewed by an Australian academic colleague and others familiar with my work to identify potential areas of weakness, to establish whether the interviews would work and whether the type of information I sought could actually be obtained. I also listened again to the first few interviews I undertook in Australia to evaluate my rôle as interviewer and to establish ways of improving my performance.

Whilst much literature on interviews stresses how to avoid bias and contamination and understands the 'respondent' to be epistemologically passive, and a vessel of *the* truth, I felt this approach was fictitious (Fowler & Mangione 1990; Duncan 1996). In contrast therefore, I understood that I was importantly implicated in the construction of meanings with Australian tourists.

> "[T]he strengths of using interviews lie in the very acknowledgement of intertextuality which permits a deeper understanding of the whos, hows, wheres and whats of human geography research" (Cloke *et al* 2000, p20).

The intertextuality thus existing between myself and tourists was of significance and unavoidable, making the data which resulted collaborative. The tourists were acknowledged as being active rather than passive and to mediate and negotiate what they expressed. In so doing, I understood them to be instrumental in the active creation of meaning. The Australian tourists were furthermore understood to not be pure, transparent and knowledgeable carriers of uncontested cultural codes[20]. They were rather understood to have experienced and acted on the world at different points, times and places throughout their life's history and geography which were embedded within multiple contexts and formed by different biographies and self identities. These in turn

[20] Their cultures too were also not perceived as being pure, isolated and homogenous.

were aged, gendered, classed, and coloured. The Australian tourists were therefore not expected to just relay "facts". They were also expected to forget much of what they had imagined and experienced and to refer to much outside the frame of reference (Cook & Crang 1995). Our stories therefore were expected to comprise inconsistency, contradictions, omissions and over emphases. However, whilst the interviews undertaken with Australian tourists constituted an inter-subjective understanding of some Australians' practice of tourism rather than an all embracing truth about tourism more generally, the interviews' transcription and analysis were highly subjective to me. I thus held the privileged position by deciding what questions to ask, by directing the flow of discourse, by interpreting the transcription material, by judging the utility/validity of the findings and, deciding where and in what form to present this interpretation (McLafferty 1995; McDowell 1996).

And, whilst McDowell (1992) concludes that, "optimistic notions of bridging the difference between research worker and research subjects are not possible; that we, as scholars, can not, nor should we aim to, empower our participants" (p413), I did seek to lessen my exploitative relation with Australian tourists by working in a way which engendered collaboration, trust, respect and value. I have also attempted throughout this thesis to limit and situate the knowledge I produce in a way which is explicit about its positions, sensitive to the structures of power that constructs them and makes visible the claims of the less powerful (Haraway 1991).

Interviewing the Australian Tourists

> "researcher, researched and research make each other; research and selves [are] 'interactive texts'" (Rose 1997, p316).

I decided that Australian tourists travelling to the UK were best accessed through the BTA's overseas office in Sydney and whilst this could be done in a variety of ways, I thought it would be preferable to use one of the BTA's databases of tourists, one which constituted Australians who had telephoned the office for information, most of which

(95%) were about to or who had just reserved their travel to the UK which was going to take place in 12 months hence (In Perspective 1997a,c). I therefore selected the names of people who had contacted the office in November and December 1996[21] and who had provided addresses with postcode areas in Sydney that I could easily travel to, and ended up with 223 names and addresses. However, because I felt that I was more likely to secure an interview with tourists if I was actually able to speak with them (rather than writing to them) I had to find out a respective telephone number for each of the addresses I had[22].

Once I had obtained as many telephone numbers as I could I began making telephone calls to people. Although I had already worked out a 'pitch' in the UK before travelling to Australia it continued to evolve in practice. I had anticipated that people would respond more positively if after introducing myself I said that I was calling on behalf of the British Tourist Authority and that *we*[23] were telephoning in reference to their previous enquiry for information in November and December 1996 and undertaking research (as opposed to market research which I felt would put people off) on Australians' travel to the UK. I presented myself in this way because since becoming a student again I have found that people are less willing (or slower) to help with enquiries which would have been dealt with more efficiently and without question in the past when working[24]. I then established whether they had already undertaken their travel to the UK and for those that had not, whether they intended to. Most Australians that I spoke to had not undertaken their travel to the UK but intended to do so. I was thus able to ask most whether they might be kind enough to answer a series of questions about their prospective travel to the

[21] I also wanted to avoid clashing with another market research exercise that was being undertaken by a tourism research consultancy on behalf of the BTA and working with people who had contacted the office prior to November 1996.

[22] I looked up each name and address in telephone directories for the Sydney area and where possible obtained telephone numbers. Some people however had silent lines (ex-directory), had given post box numbers, abbreviated or business addresses or, were simply not listed. I called Telstra's (Australia's main telephone operating company) directory enquiry service where appropriate but found that they were only able to provide approximately one number for every eight or so enquiries.

[23] I thought that people would find this approach more professional and that it would elevate the status of my work.

[24] However, I feel much less comfortable about the ethics of my approach now and would have preferred it if I had been less opaque about who I was and what I was doing when I first encountered the tourists (even

UK. Although some were a little hesitant about doing an interview all but one of the 45 people I contacted agreed to work with me[25]. I therefore proceeded to secure dates and times for when we could meet and asked for further information relating to contact details, gender, age, profession, ethnic background and dates of travel. This information was then documented onto a tourist record, (see Appendix G). The records proved to be invaluable for detailing information revealed from the discussion and interaction that took place 'off tape' and for information relating to the interview, the tourist, me and the context of the interviews.

In order to establish a rapport, I tried to be as sensitive as I could with Australian tourists. My style of dress, manner of speech and more general demeanour were thus altered to suit each particular occasion. I also stressed to tourists that they would remain anonymous, that my taking personal details was entirely for my own administration purposes and that what they conveyed to me on and off tape would remain confidential. Most were very welcoming when I met up with them and one even had a full high tea prepared on my arrival[26]. Using the schedule of questions as a framework I engendered a free form of conversation approached from the tourist's world drawing from the dramaturgical approach suggested by Berg (1989). Tourists were assured that they knew about the subjects discussed and encouraged to answer in an open and detailed manner and to avoid phrasing the answer in a way to suit my frame of reference and language. The schedule was furthermore seen by both myself and the tourist (thus serving as an attempt to delegate power from me to both of us) and the questions were tackled by both of us working together as a team. I found that most of the tourists I worked with very interested in my research; tourism and watching television are after all two undertakings which are important to Australians' (see Chapter Five), which are associated with pleasure and which most could talk about with authority. Whilst some said that they had little time for doing an interview, most ended up talking for up to an hour. Some were a

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if this meant interviewing fewer of them).

[25] I found that older people (51+) were less suspicious and more willing to help than the younger people I spoke to. They also had more time for interviews.

[26] One of the tourists was a little bit worse for wear from alcohol when I arrived.

little bit shy about being interviewed but seemed to enjoy the experience once they become involved.

Tourists often had many questions about my research and me to which I would explain about my being a doctoral student at the University of Bristol, working with the BTA in Australia and being temporarily affiliated to the University of Sydney. Tourists were also very interested in what I thought about Australia and whether I was to do any exploration of it following my work there and frequently made recommendations of where I could travel to. Some also knew of people travelling to the UK that they could volunteer for interview[27]. I was also asked for advice and information regarding travel to, from and within the UK and other matters. I frequently found myself ending up pouring over maps with tourists and helping them plan their itineraries. Being able to help in this way served to form a good working professional relationship between myself and the tourists. It also felt very satisfying to be able reciprocate the time and trouble tourists had taken with me[28].

After a week or so of trying to set up interviews, I began to feel concerned that I was not getting enough organized and that the whole interview procedure was taking up all my fieldwork time which had to include time for the collation of other research material and data. I was finding that I was not only spending a lot of time on the telephone just trying to set up interviews (because people were difficult to get hold of, cancelled interviews and made alternative arrangements) but actually doing them was taking a lot of time too. Travelling to people on public transport was very time consuming. My first two interviews in the Sydney suburbs of Rose Bay and Darling Point had taken up 6 hours of my time, most of which was spent sitting on a bus or waiting at a bus stop. To mitigate these difficulties, Donna Wales, the Head of Media Relations at the BTA suggested that I undertook some of my interviews on the telephone. Some of the tourists too that I had spoken to had suggested doing an interview with them on the telephone because they

[27] As did people that I encountered socially. I ended up interviewing seven tourists in this way. See also Cloke *et al* (2000) on 'snow-balling'.
[28] Australian tourists still continue to contact me in the UK.

lived so far out from Sydney and getting to them was difficult. Telephone interviews thus became a more attractive option although I had concerns about not visiting tourists' homes which were so rich in information, that they would be less interesting (and amusing[29]) to do and more difficult to execute well.

I did however set up a few telephone interviews and was very struck by the success of their undertaking especially in terms of retrieving information. The sound quality of the telephone interviews was also much better than I had expected although tourists and I had to rely entirely upon our voices and language to communicate and as such had to be very clear and precise[30]. Telephone interviews were also more controllable; there were never any others present in the conversation (who had on occasion interrupted or disagreed with what had been said) which had altered the inter-personal dynamics of some face to face interviews. I could also control the temperature of the room I worked in. I had found that Sydney's very humid heat frequently made me very light-headed and faint which I found to be very distracting especially when interviewing. However, although I felt that the telephone interviews worked very well (and in some cases were even more effective than face to face ones) I found that the sense of collaboration was diminished and that they were less interesting to undertake as I had enjoyed working with tourists directly and visiting their homes and places of work.

I initially felt quite hesitant about contacting the male tourists listed on the database. I did not feel at all comfortable about travelling to their homes to visit them for an interview in the evening (which was often the only available time they had) not knowing whether I would be alone with them and I also had concerns about having to travel alone at night on public transport. In order to reduce these difficulties, I felt it would be pragmatic to establish interviews firstly with women and to then ask them if they thought their husband/partner would be available for an interview where appropriate. However,

[29] On one occasion the family cat refused to remove himself from the interview schedule.

[30] When setting up an interview I always checked to see whether the sound quality of the tourist's telephone was good enough, (mobile telephones do not work at all well) and stressed that the interview had to be undertaken in a quiet uninterrupted environment beforehand. Some tourists who were softly spoken had to be reminded to speak up on several occasions during some of the interviews.

it was difficult to gain access to men via these women. Some of the women were quite irritated by my wanting to speak to someone else when it was they that had originally contacted the BTA. Some of those that I had interviewed first also seemed to think that their husbands doing an interview with me was an inappropriate use of their time and by implication that the interviews were women's stuff only. I also asked for Mr's instead of the Ms/Miss/Mrs's listed on my database on a few occasions and in so doing asked for someone who did not exist. On these occasions I simply explained that I needed to interview men to correct a research balance. However, these unsatisfactory ways of gaining interview access to men were not pursued and with more experience, contacting men directly became less problematic.

My femininity furthermore made me feel much more comfortable about approaching women from the BTA's database for an interview and, undertaking interviews with them. The female tourists found it easier to listen to my questions, to empathize with what I was communicating, to answer the questions (and in so doing to relate their imaginings and why they undertook various practices and how they felt when undertaking them) and, to validate their personal experiences as part of the research process. Many of the men in contrast found it more difficult to listen and would interrupt when I asked questions or anticipated what I said and answered the question in the way they wanted to, (one man even took the schedule of questions away from me and read them out and answered them himself). Many of the men furthermore tended to emphasize the rational and regaled me with facts about the UK or stressed what they had done whilst there (if they had travelled there before) (Alcoff 1996). It was almost as if some of the men seemed to be challenged by my presence and had to prove to me how much they knew about the UK. Despite my many attempts to direct them back to the questions, it was sometimes almost impossible to get them to answer the questions, especially those relating to their imaginings and how they actually felt. My initial hesitancy to contact men was thus not unfounded and also prompted by an awareness of the way in which everyday undertakings of conversation between men and women operate in a way which produces a bias (and power) in favour of the views of men

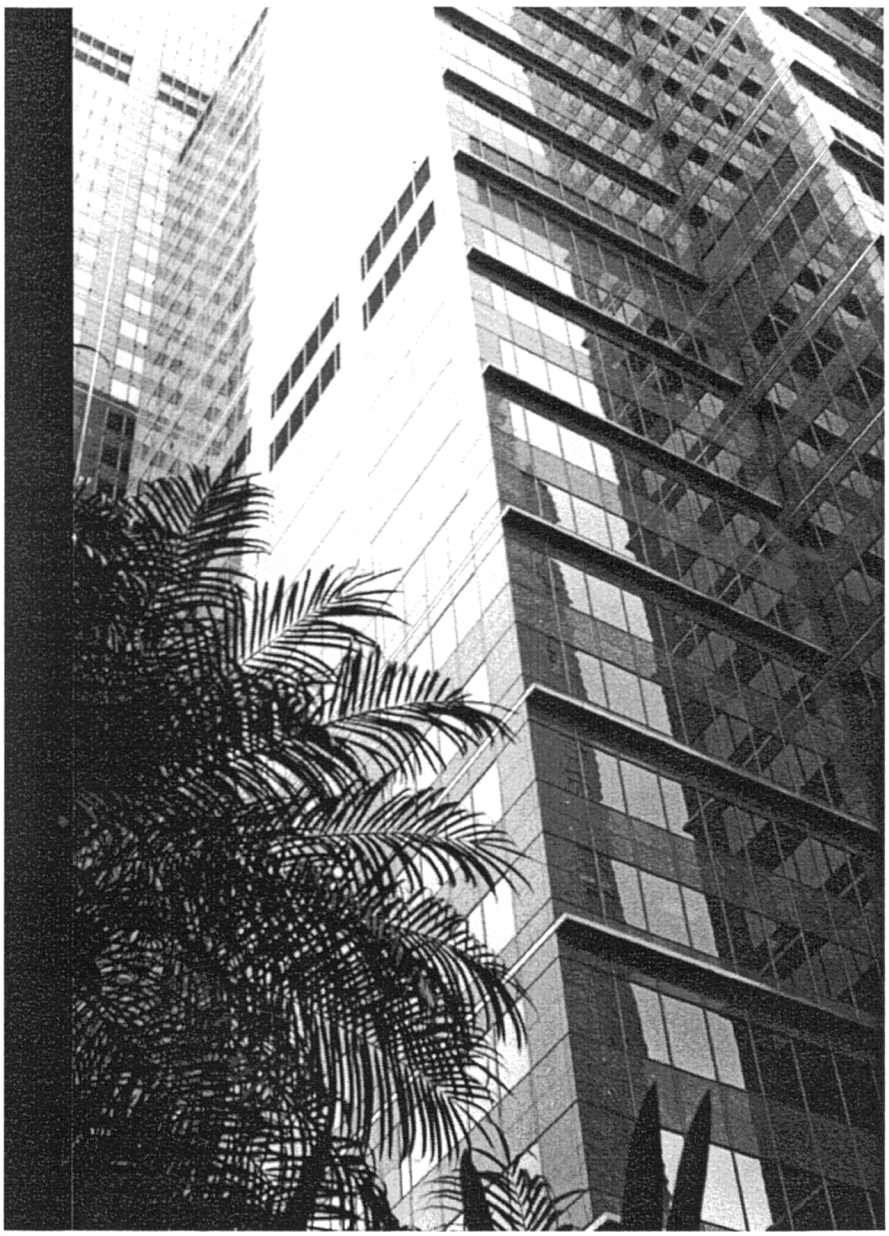
(Fishman 1990). The impact of this was certainly felt during interviews. I felt that some of the men were patronizing and discounted my work because of my gender which had the effect of diminishing my confidence in the interview's value, (my '*little* project') and me during its procedure (see Probyn (1993) and Rose (1993)). This was particularly difficult to mitigate. On one occasion one man made me feel so worthless that I simply rattled through the interview as quickly as possible to rid myself of him and way he made me feel. On other occasions I felt more annoyed and more able to insist on the questions being answered in a way which was more appropriate and respectful. However, whilst my gender had an obvious impact on my undertaking of the interviews, my colour, age and lifestyle seemed to pose less difficulty especially in terms of power relations. Although I did not share a fundamental identity with any of the tourists, I did share a similar position in terms of colour (white *sic*) and similarly experienced what many would call a "middle-class" lifestyle (Gibson-Graham 1996)[31].

In order to mitigate working in the evenings and too many telephone interviews, I found it useful to meet up with tourists at their place of work during lunch' hours. The offices tourists worked in were usually situated in blocks like those depicted in Figure 4.4 in down-town Sydney. For these interviews, it felt more appropriate to don my former business clothing rather than the more casual attire I wore for interviews undertaken in the home. I found these interviews rather more tough as a consequence and did not feel at all comfortable approaching the huge intimidating power blocks of steel, glass and concrete, pretending to know exactly where the lifts were in foyers with glass atriums, petrified plants, running water and throngs of unfriendly men and women in suits and fumbling for the right buttons in the lifts whilst trying to ignore the many mirrored versions of myself but looking 'cool'. One of the biggest difficulties I had was with vertigo especially in interview situations where I was facing a tourist and where office windows reached from ceiling to floor affording the most amazing but very vertiginous views of the city and harbour. I also found that the power relations of these interviews

[31] However, if I had have worked with more people of colour and/or those who were socially and economically less "well off", the power relations of the interview situation would have been much altered and perhaps necessitated a different way of interviewing and/or a different method altogether.

altered more in favour of the tourist. Whilst I interviewed them like the other tourists on their territory, the offices and their furnishings were always designed to disempower the visitor. With experience however, I gradually became more accustomed and comfortable with undertaking interviews in offices (although I did not get the better of the vertigo) and found that they provided me with a useful means of extending my field-work time.

Figure 4.4: Down-Town Sydney Tower Block



Everyone I interviewed agreed to be interviewed again following their trip and actually seemed to be quite enthusiastic and interested about doing so. Most tourists however, were not as keen to undertake an interview whilst undertaking travel in the UK as they did not want their holiday time intruded upon, could not provide precise contact details and some were undertaking their travel when I was still working in Australia. Interviewing tourists thus whilst travelling looked as if it was going to be more problematic. I did however manage to take travel details from some who did not mind being contacted. Some also said that they might contact me if they found it was convenient for them to do so.

Prior to my leaving Australia one of my room mates in Australia undertook an interview with me relating to my tourism experience in Australia. Whilst I could only base my answers on travel undertaken at weekends which basically constituted trips to Sydney's local beaches, a day trip to the Blue Mountains, a trip to Wollongong University for a meeting with an academic there, and visitor attractions in Sydney (and not my three week tour up the East Coast) the interview served as a useful test for the interview schedule I was to use with Australian tourists undertaking travel in the UK (see Appendix H). The interview schedule was revised further whilst back in the UK with the help of others familiar with my work.

I was delighted to find on returning back to my office at the University in Bristol that one of the Australian tourists I had interviewed had contacted me to undertake an interview and was presently undertaking travel in the UK. Unfortunately when I returned his call he had moved on from his hotel and staff there were not able to inform me as to his whereabouts. This experience was very typical of trying to locate Australian tourists for interviews whilst travelling in the UK. Because they were trying to see and do much in a short space of time they were rarely in a place for more than a day and were thus very difficult to get hold of. I contacted all of those that had given me travel details but usually 'just' missed them for reasons relating mainly to itinerary adjustments. I even contacted some of those that had not seemed as keen to do interviews whilst

travelling but with little success. However, I eventually managed to locate three tourists (one woman and two men), all of whom had very full itineraries and asked to be interviewed on the telephone rather than face to face. It was very interesting to speak to these tourists again and despite these interviews having fewer questions I found that they took longer to undertake than those I had done with tourists in Sydney[32]. I felt that the tourists were more focused in their answers and pleased and sometimes excited to talk with me again about their experience of being tourists in the UK.

In order to curtail costs I decided to undertake interviews with Australians following their experience of travel in the UK on the telephone as opposed to travelling to Australia again. However, whilst locating Australian tourists following their travel in Australia was not as difficult as locating them whilst travelling in the UK, setting up this series of interviews was more difficult than I had originally thought[33]. Some I had contacted had not undertaken their travel because it had been postponed, some had moved and were not contactable, some were out when I telephoned (it was inappropriate to leave messages on answer machines asking them to telephone me back) and some had cancelled their trips[34]. However, I managed to locate 12 people who had travelled to the UK (6 women and 6 men) from a mixture of ethnic backgrounds, who could talk about their tourism experience in a thoughtful way, and who included the three I had interviewed before whilst travelling in the UK. The interview schedule that I used to interview Australian tourists following their travel to the UK is illustrated in Appendix I. I found what the tourists had to say very interesting and it was good to talk with them again as they had almost become like friends and seemed to be very pleased to share their travel and other experiences with me[35]. Many had also become very interested in

[32] The same was true of interviews undertaken following their travel to the UK.

[33] I had to contend with a 10 hour time difference and getting up very early in the mornings in order to contact them at appropriate and convenient times.

[34] One woman I spoke to had had to cancel her marriage and honeymoon tour to the UK and Europe because her mother had died.

[35] It was interesting for me to find how strong some of these relationships became. One of the men I had interviewed before, during and post travel to the UK had been diagnosed with a cancer which had a very big impact on him, his wife (who I had also interviewed) and their family which we discussed at some length. Another seemed to want a friendship and invited me to have dinner with her and to show me around Sydney.

my research. I told them that I would forward them research that I published and/or a summary report as and when it was produced[36]. I also asked each of the Australian tourists I had interviewed more than once whether they had compiled a diary of their travel in the UK and whether I could have a copy of it if they had. Three had made diaries of travel and were happy to forward me copies.

In order to analyze the interviews I had undertaken with Australian tourists, the taper-recordings of their interviews were transcribed[37]. However, whilst revealing valuable information, transcribing can not possibly encompass the whole research interview which included; telephone calls to set up interviews, a visit to a home or workplace, meeting tourists' relatives, friends and colleagues and other conversation relating to the tourist, their trip, me, my work, my time in Australia and so on. Much information of value was gained from observation of and engagement in this 'off-tape' discussion and was documented onto the tourist records I referred to earlier (see Appendix G). The transcriptions more specifically can also not represent the tone, intonation, hesitation and mood of the interview itself and reproduce the interviews in a flat and static fashion. This was mitigated by including my own commentary on this in brackets.

I thus ended up with 51 transcriptions of interviews I had undertaken with Australian tourists prior to touring to the UK, three undertaken with Australian tourists whilst touring the UK and 12 following their travel to the UK. These were additionally supplemented by three Australian tourists' diaries of travel undertaken whilst touring within the UK, tourist records documenting demographic detail and information relating to the interview, my own diary of research which recorded information relating to the tourists, emerging themes, mood changes, similarities and contrasts between tourists, information relating to me and my performance, information relating to the context of the interview and, my own memories of working with Australian tourists.

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[36] I also sent Christmas cards to Australian tourists I had interviewed more than once.

[37] Whilst I can type, have a good typing speed and have transcribed interviews for previous research I get Repetitive Strain Injury (RSI) and was a little anxious about having to type up so many interviews in the month I had originally allocated to do it. However, it was controllable and less difficult than I had originally anticipated although I did experience some pain.

Prior to analyzing the transcriptions and diaries, I quantified the information that I had collected on the tourist records discussed earlier, (and depicted in Appendix G) in order to get a feel for the Australian tourists, their travel to the UK and the interview proceedings themselves[38]. I then closely examined the transcripts in conjunction with the tourist diaries of travel, my records of each individual tourist interview and my own research diary. Although the research generated a vast amount of new and very rich material and data which related to a variety of tourism and other cultural processes and practices, I specifically focused on that which related to Australian tourists' exposure to television film depicting the UK and its inter-connections with their practice of UK tourism and as such, material relating to etic themes derived by me (in relation to the research objectives delineated here in the introduction) before the interviews were undertaken (Cook & Crang 1995)[39]. The transcripts and other material were then re-read many times focusing on each thematic area and noting the context in which it emerged and developed Burgess *et al* (1988). All the material was then grouped according to theme and clearly defined. Relations within and between themes were explored as were similarities, contradictions and sources of conflict. Whilst some themes overlapped or became sub-themes of others, some were mutually exclusive. Patterns and different properties of each theme were identified, described and discussed as a means of understanding stories of Australians' tourism. Each theme was then 'thickly' described and inter-connected with the theoretical concepts identified in Chapters Two and Three where appropriate. I also recorded how many times named (tele)filmic material was referred to in order to establish which kinds of television(film) had the most significant impact on Australians' practice of tourism. The characteristics of the ten most mentioned television films were then described and discussed as were the characteristics of how they were viewed.

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[38] "counting..... can be used effectively to reveal the broad contours of difference" (McLafferty 1995, p438).

[39] I had considered analyzing them utilizing appropriate software packages like for example, NUDIST and Ethnograph but had been put off by colleagues who had had difficulties using them and because the inter-subjective approach I had adopted was better suited to my own analysis. See Bryman & Burgess (1994)

The interview schedule served its purpose well and worked effectively as a means of collecting information that I wanted. There were of course questions which were not as effective as others like for example, what are the most important things you want to do whilst in the UK? followed by, what are the most important places you want to visit? The second question was often answered whilst the first was being answered; the most important things tourists wanted to do usually constituted visiting places. I therefore omitted or altered questions where I felt it was appropriated to do so. I was however, disappointed to find that the tourists' diaries of travel were not as illuminating as I had hoped. The diary entries tended to just itemize where tourists had stayed, what the weather was like, what they did, what they ate and drank and how much things costed as opposed to how and why their tourism was undertaken and how they felt when undertaking it. This part of the chapter has also and more importantly revealed that I was not able to generate as much knowledge in relation to Australians' practice of tourism during and following their travel in the UK as I was in relation to their practice of tourism before travel. The voice appropriated to their experienced geography of the UK is therefore a small one but redressed in, Chapter Seven: An Auto-Ethnography of (Tele)Tourism.

An Auto-Ethnography of (Tele)Tourism

In contrast to the previous research methodology which emphasized the production of knowledge relating to television film's inter-connection with people, (the Australian tourists), this research methodology emphasizes the production of knowledge relating to television film's inter-connection with place, (the UK). In order to produce this knowledge therefore, I undertook a series of the tele-tourisms anticipated by the Australian tourists for myself. These tele-tourisms employed a variety of methods including an auto-ethnographical approach and constituted an analysis of tele-filmic material and, site visits to some of the locations depicted in this tele-filmic material.

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and Fielding, J (1993).

Auto-ethnography involves interpreting people, places and events through the perspective of the researcher and the medium of their personal involvement (Cloke 1999). However, it does not only produce findings about self. Whilst its findings are not directly transferable to others it nevertheless directs attention at significant processes and practices which will also be experienced by others. This part of the research thus not only describes my own experience of tele-tourism but also circumscribes how it might be for the Australian tourists I worked with (Reed-Danahay 1997). And, as mentioned in the previous part of the chapter, this part of the research programme also serves to redress the limited voice given to Australian tourists' experienced geographies of the UK by my earlier work. It is complemented by an analysis of research material and data relating to Australians' viewing of television film and an examination of visitor figures to the locations concerned.

Whilst I could have selected from a variety of motion picture and television films depicting the UK that were screened in Australia, I felt it was most apposite to analyze (tele)filmic material which the Australian tourists had actually been exposed to and referred to during interviews. As Chapter Six demonstrates, they mentioned a variety of (tele)filmic material depicting the UK which included televized travel shows like Channel 9's *Getaway* and Channel 7's *The Great Outdoors*, television series like *The Bill* and *Peak Practice*, televized sporting events, news bulletins and motion picture films like *Four Weddings & A Funeral*, *Emma* and *Sense & Sensibility*. Whilst an examination of any of these would have been insightful, I felt that it would be most appropriate to analyze contrasting (tele)filmic material from that which was most mentioned by the Australian tourists I worked with, that utilizes the UK as a location in an extensive way and which importantly sponsored Australian tourists' imagined geographies of the UK (see Chapter Six and Table 6.6 in particular). In order to establish which filmic material this was, I undertook a word count for each film referred to in interviews undertaken prior to their travel to the UK and found that YTV's long running television series, *Heartbeat* screened on Australia's ABC network was the most mentioned (tele)filmic text (23 mentions), followed by the BBC's television serial (of six

parts), *Pride & Prejudice* screened on the ABC network (10 mentions) and Merchant Ivory/Columbia's motion picture film, *Remains of the Day* screened on Australian television's Channel 10 (seven mentions). The most mentioned filmic material was thus significantly television film[40].

I selected the seventh episode of *Heartbeat*'s sixth series, *Snapped* for analysis, because it had been screened in the month preceding my programme of interviews with Australian tourists (see Appendix K). I obtained a video-tape of it, together with *Pride & Prejudice* and *Remains of the Day* and viewed them as the Australian tourists had done, at home (see Appendices L and M respectively). My research of these began by watching them twice in their entirety in order to get a more general feel for them and to select specific parts for more in-depth analysis. Parts which (re)produced powerful meanings about the UK were then selected and included the opening and ending credits of two of the television films (*Heartbeat* and *Remains of the Day*) (which are repeatedly viewed in the former case). In order to analyze these specific parts I borrowed from the two constructionist theories discussed in Chapter Two; semiotics (used in a similar kind of way to Cosgrove & Daniels 1988)) and discourse analysis. I thus closely examined the geographies (re)produced by these parts shot by shot paying particular attention to a variety of tele-filmic codes which included; setting, props, costume, performance and bodily movement, lighting, camera operation, editing, sound and narrative (Rowe 1996). At the same time, I examined how the UK and meanings, understandings and interpretations about it and its people (both intended and unintended) were (re)produced by the shots and tele-filmic codes, how these inter-connected with other texts (Barnes & Duncan 1992; Duncan & Duncan 1988; Duncan 1990), how I read them (Hall 1973), how these inter-connected and transacted with my own imagined geographies of the UK (Zonn 1984; Aitken & Bjorkland 1988) and, the feelings that this afforded me. I additionally made suppositions about how my analysis of these shots might inter-connect with my own practice of tourism.

[40] And has had important ramifications for this thesis which are discussed in more detail in Chapter One.

This work was then complemented by an analysis of material and data relating to *Heartbeat*, *Pride & Prejudice* and *Remains of the Day* which I obtained from a media research agency (Nix 1997) and television magazines (Williams 1997). The analysis focused its attentions on information relating to plot, transmission, that is; which channel screened them, when they were screened, when they were repeated (if appropriate), how long they were screened for and, their audience, that is; how many people in the area of Sydney viewed them and what these people were like.

This research was then followed by a series of site visits to some of the locations depicted in the shots of my analysis. I thus visited Goathland, the village in North Yorkshire which plays the part of Aidensfield in *Heartbeat.* I also visited Lyme Park, Disley, Stockport, Cheshire which played the part of Pemberley, Mr Darcy's imposing seat in *Pride & Prejudice* (and depicted in Figure 2.2), Lacock village which played the part of Meryton, a village depicted in *Pride & Prejudice* and Dyrham Park, near Chippenham in Wiltshire which played the part of Darlington Hall in *Remains of the Day.* I also collected visitor figures from the North Yorkshire Moors National Park (NYMNP) in respect of Goathland and the National Trust in respect of Lyme Park, Lacock Village and Dyrham Park in order to determine whether their tele-filmic appearance in *Heartbeat*, *Pride & Prejudice* and *Remains of the Day* made them more attractive to people. I was not able to do this with specific reference to Australian visitors because the visitor attractions concerned did not record where tourists had travelled from.

Each site visit included an in-depth exploration of the site and its surroundings (with especial regard to key tele-filmic places), an examination of visitor books and the comments therein (especially those recorded by Australian tourists), discussion with staff and tourists and, an undertaking of what tourists typically did there; that is, touring, collecting information from brochures, signs and books, taking photographs and purchasing relevant merchandize. I therefore participated and observed, acting as both tourist and researcher. I also deliberately sought to encounter Australian tourists at each

of the places I visited to find out more about their thoughts on this mapping process. Each site visit was then 'thickly' described (Cook & Crang 1995), (some photographic images have also been included) and discussed making references to others' research material and data and, popular literature where appropriate. I thus documented a limited, specific and partial story of how my imagined geography of the places depicted in the shots I analyzed mapped onto my experienced geography of them as realized by my own practice of tourism and how my imagined geography of the places (having experienced them) inter-connected with the geography (re)produced by *Heartbeat*, *Pride & Prejudice* and *Remains of the Day* following my visit to them. I also examined how *Heartbeat*, *Pride & Prejudice* and *Remains of the Day* have each (re)produced the places that they actually depict.

My '*Heartbeat*' site visit was particularly interesting in that it reflected a more mature inter-connection with people, place and tourism which continues to attract more academic (Phillips & Fish forthcoming; Phillips *et al* 1999; Mordue 1999; Tooke & Baker 1996) and popular attention. I also found that Goathland not only attracted many tourists but also many people undertaking research relating to the relationship between television and tourism at all levels ranging from school projects to academic research. As such, the village and its people suffered from a severe research fatigue which I had not previously encountered. When for example I gave my university address to the proprietor of the bed and breakfast I was to stay at in Goathland her hackles immediately rose[41]. She asked me whether I was a researcher and whether the subjects of my concern were television and tourism. Hoping that she had useful information to proffer I responded enthusiastically that I was. She however said that she would make herself scarce on my arrival and would not talk to me about tourism, *Heartbeat* or Australians!!! She angrily informed me that, "you know tourism existed here before *Heartbeat*.....it's not like Holmfirth (location for *Last of the Summer Wine*)[42]. I did however manage to

[41] The woman who was also a former chair of the parish council and still seemed to be of much importance to the village's operation.

[42] I actually thought that Goathland was in fact rather like Holmfirth (a place where I have lived and promoted when working for Kirklees' Department of Tourism) in that both places had generated many visits from people attracted by these places' distinctive geographies well before their appearances on

exchange some words with her when settling up my bill(!). She explained how annoyed she was by researchers focusing on *Heartbeat* as people continued to visit Goathland because of its attractive geography and interesting history and not *Heartbeat*[43]. On my return, I contacted Bill Breakell the Tourism Officer for the NYMNP in which Goathland is situated. He informed me that on average 50 people a week visit Goathland and/or contact him regarding Goathland/*Heartbeat* for research purposes. He described how research fatigue manifested itself and how residents threw away the questionnaires they received, demonstrated anger towards researchers and purposely completed questionnaires in an inaccurate way (Breakell 1997b). As a consequence, Bill Breakell now officially dissuades researchers wanting to undertake research in Goathland and forwards the flyer depicted in Figure 4.5 to research enquirers (Breakell 1998)[44].

Despite this, my analysis of the site visit usefully engaged with others' research on Goathland and *Heartbeat.* Chapter Seven explores research undertaken by Martin Phillips, Rob Fish and Jennifer Agg (Phillips & Fish forthcoming; Phillips *et al* 1999) at the University of Leicester. Their work is concerned with the portrayal of rurality in *Heartbeat* and how *Heartbeat* is used in a variety of tourist promotional materials. It also examines how people visiting and living in the village of Goathland are responding to the impacts of its tele-visual portrayal and promotion and, the production and reception of mediated representations of rurality. The Chapter also explores research undertaken by Tom Mordue (1999) at the University of Sunderland. His work similarly focuses on Goathland and its inter-connections with *Heartbeat.* I have also incorporated material and data relating to the impacts caused to Goathland and its residents and *Heartbeat* tourism more generally in my analysis.

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screen.

[43] She did not however seem adverse to receiving *Heartbeat* film crew and *Heartbeat* inspired tourists and researchers as guests in her bed & breakfast.

[44] A spokeswoman (who wanted to remain anonymous) working in the village described the Goathland/*Heartbeat* relationship as a "political hot potato" and talked about how villagers were becoming tired of research and researchers. She also expressed concerns about research not representing what villagers had to say and not allowing for dialogue and/or feedback.

Figure 4.5: NYMNP Flyer for *Heartbeat* Researchers

NORTH YORK MOORS NATIONAL PARK AUTHORITY

RESEARCH AND STUDIES INTO VISITOR IMPACT IN GOATHLAND

Goathland has seen a very major increase in visitor numbers since the filming of the television series 'Heartbeat' began in 1991. The impact of these visitors on the social life, economy and environment of the villages has been very real.

Many students (together with their teachers or tutors) have seen this as being a very good topic for study, and indeed, some useful work has come out of it.

However, the number of students (from secondary to postgraduate) who are proposing such studies has now grown to the point where it is posing an additional burden on the local community.

The number of self-completion questionnaires and face-to face interviews with visitors and especially residents can reach the point where not only is it an intrusion into privacy, but the results may become fundamentally flawed due to sampling problems and even false responses.

Because of these concerns, the National Park Authority in association with Goathland Parish Council and other members of the local community would ask you to consider an alternative topic for research.

We are sure that you will understand and want to respect the wishes of the local community.

Bill Breakell, Tourism and Transport Officer, North York Moors National Park Authority, Bondgate, Helmsley, York YO62 5BP

Source: Breakell (1998).

The only site visit which I found difficult to undertake, was the one to Lyme Park. The extreme inclement weather made it very difficult to actually experience the place. I did however manage to brave, 'The Pemberley Trail' (see Appendix N) in the howling wind, rain and cold. My experienced geography of 'Pemberley' however was much affected by this poor weather and contributed to my feeling of disappointment described in Chapter Seven. I was also disappointed not to get to speak to more Australian tourists practising

tourism in the UK. Despite listening out for Australian accents, and having my hopes raised and dashed by Yorkshire men sporting Akubra hats[45] in Goathland, my only encounters with Australian tourists during these site visits were at Whitby[46].

Conclusion

The programme of research I undertook generated a vast amount of new and very rich knowledge with which to investigate television film's implications for people's imagined and experienced geographies of place as realized by their practice of tourism and, to further define and determine television film's inter-connection with tourism more generally. The programme additionally produced knowledge which related to other cultural processes and practices. However, (and, as has been revealed throughout this chapter) there are lacunae in the knowledge produced by the programme of research I undertook which result from what I did and did not do and, are discussed in more depth and with more reflection in Chapter Eight.

The research I undertook strongly voices television film's inter-connections with pre travel tourism practice and Australian tourists' *imagined* (as opposed to experienced) geographies of the UK. Whilst I had originally intended to work with the same tourists throughout their tourism experience, (before, during and following their travel to the UK) this was not possible for reasons relating to access. As the chapter has revealed, it was much easier to locate Australian tourists before travelling to the UK as opposed to during their travel and, not quite as difficult to locate tourists following their travel. These difficulties of access are directly reflected by the knowledge produced and as the chapter has revealed, I ended up with knowledge relating to 51 Australian tourists' practice of tourism before travel, three tourists' practice of tourism during travel and 12

[45] An Australian hat made from rabbit fur.

[46] On my way back down from the Abbey at Whitby I came across a rather self-conscious and swaggering film crew setting up a shot and was struck by the excitement and attention that they caused locals, visitors and tourists. See also Butts (1993).

tourists' practice of tourism following their travel to the UK. The voice appropriated to the mapping of the imagined geographies of Australian tourists onto their experienced geographies is thus much more limited as is the one appropriated to television film's inter-connection with Australian's imagined geographies and practice of tourism following their travel to the UK (although its limitation is not as severe). However, this was mitigated by using knowledge derived from those tourists I worked with before travelling to the UK about their previous UK tourism experience and, an in-depth auto-ethnographic analysis of my own practice of tele-tourism which is presented in Chapter Seven.

In order to contextualize the claims I make in association with this knowledge in Chapters Five, Six, Seven and Eight, I limit and situate its production in Chapter Eight (Haraway 1991). In summary however, the programme of research has been constituted by: the literature I engaged with; the tourists I worked with; where they came from, where they travelled to; the historical, geographical and cultural inter-connections existing between the place the tourists travelled from (Australia) and the place they travelled to (the UK); the method by which the knowledge was produced and, *my* use of it; my access of information, knowledge and tourists through BTA Sydney; skills, experience, interests and characteristics peculiar to me; and, the time in which the research was undertaken.

The presentation, description and examination of this knowledge frames the following three chapters; that is, Chapter Five: Australians, Tourism and Television Film, Chapter Six: Australians' Practice of (Tele)Tourism and, Chapter Seven: An Auto-Ethnography of (Tele)Tourism which correspond with each of the research programme's constituent parts debated here respectively.

Chapter Five: Australians, Tourism and Television Film

Introduction

In contrast to Chapters Six and Seven which emphasize Australians' consumption of UK (tele)tourism, this chapter investigates how (tele)tourism is produced for them and, that part of the hermeneutic circle (referred to in Chapter Three) which produces tourism meanings. It examines the significance of tourism for Australians and explores how tourism to the UK is produced for them. It then goes on to analyze the processes and practices involved and focuses on those that enrol motion picture film and television in particular and Australian's consumption of them. The chapter constitutes three main parts;

- **Australians and tourism** - this part of the chapter examines Australians' practice of travel, domestic and overseas tourism and, tourism to the UK more specifically. It discusses relevant material and data which reveal how many Australians travel to the UK, how much they spend and how long they stay for. It also describes who they are, how old they are, where they come from and why, when, where and how their tourism to the UK is undertaken.

- **producing UK (tele)tourism** - this part of the chapter explores how tourism to the UK is produced from Australia and, how Australians are (re)produced as tourists and how the UK is (re)produced as a destination for them. It focuses on the promotional practice of BTA Sydney, the Australians specifically targeted for (re)production as tourists and how this (re)production is undertaken. It also analyzes how these processes and practices of (re)production inter-connect with film and television and presents an interesting example of this inter-connection in practice.

- **Australians and television film** - this part of the chapter examines the production and consumption of Australian television. It investigates when and where television is viewed in Australia, what type of tele-filmic material is viewed and for how long, and, how and why watching television film is undertaken by Australians. It also discusses Australia's five terrestrial networks, cable, satellite and digital television, the different programme genres they broadcast and travel programmes.

Australians and Tourism

Australians, Travel and Domestic Tourism

Travel is a vitally important part of life for many people living in Australia[1]. Whilst I was initially surprised by how many of the Australians (residing in Sydney) I met had not travelled to the North of their country to Darwin or Cairns, or to the West and Perth, I was impressed by the time they would spend in their cars driving from one city to another, making three to four hour journeys from Sydney to Canberra or, ten to twelve hour treks from Sydney to Melbourne. Because Australia is so vast and because cities and towns are so far from one another, Australians (rather like North Americans) are used to undertaking long journeys often taken in their own cars[2]. Domestic air fares are very expensive; for example, a return economy air flight between Sydney and Darwin costs in the region of $1 410(Aus) (Culling 1998), which makes it difficult for most to make more than the occasional flight to far flung cities. Train travel is, "something you do because you really want to" (Finlay *et al* 1996, p127) and is slow, limited, infrequent

[1] Like most people from the 'developed' world, Australians' propensity to travel is usually determined by disposable income and time (see Chapter Three). There are both federal and state laws relating to annual holiday entitlement in Australia which depend upon the particular type of employment concerned. A representative from the Department of Industrial Relations informed me that four weeks leave was the minimum period for those undertaking full-time employment and that employees were usually entitled to a maximum of three months service leave following a period of 10 or 15 years of continuous employment with the same company or group of companies (anonymous spokesperson 1997).

[2] ABS (1996c) records that there were 10 935 000 motor vehicles on register at 30 June 1995. This figure includes motor cycles but excludes tractors, plant and equipment, caravans and trailers.

and confused by different rail gauges and operators. Coaches provide a more viable alternative and are a little cheaper than train and surprisingly quicker.

Although relatively expensive, domestic tourism is popular with Australians. It was estimated that a total of 48 113 000 trips were undertaken during 1993-1994 which given a population of 13 997 000 of people aged 15 and over, translates as each person making three trips on average (ABS 1996a)[3]. In the same year, the main purposes for undertaking domestic tourism were recorded as being for pleasure and/or holiday (39%), visiting family and relatives (VFR) (29%) and business (18%). Domestic tourism is dominated by intra-state travel and accounted for 74% of all domestic trips in 1993-94 (ABS 1996a). The main destination for domestic tourists in the same period was NSW, followed by Queensland, and, the private vehicle was the most popular form of transport employed for domestic tourism and used for 78% of trips (ABS 1996a).

Overseas Tourism

Whilst Australians undertook 2.9 million overseas trips in 1997 (BTA 1998b), only 6.7 million Australians or approximately 37% of the total population held an active passport[4] (O'Sullivan 1997). Overseas tourism is thus only a significant part of some Australians' lives. Almost 25% of all these overseas trips were made to Europe with approximately 50% of these to Britain and the remainder being spread between other European countries (BTA 1998b). Most Australians travel overseas for a holiday, followed by VFR and business. 50% of all trips they make are under three weeks duration and more than 30% last between three weeks and three months (ABS figures cited in BTA 1997a).

The recent economic crisis in Asia has meant that Asian countries have become even more inexpensive and popular destinations for Australians (Hall 1994; Phelan 1997;

[3] The total nights away figure was recorded as being 211 373 000 which translates as each person spending four nights away from home on average (ABS 1996a).

[4] There are seven different types of passport which exist in Australia; ordinary, frequent travellers, official, diplomatic document of identity, certificate of identity and United Nations (UN) travel documents for refugees (O'Sullivan 1997).

BTA 1998b)[5]. Particular Asian countries which continue to remain popular as tourist destinations for Australians include Singapore and Hong Kong, whilst emerging destinations such as Taiwan, China and Vietnam are additionally demonstrating growth in terms of tourist figures from Australia. Australia's fastest growing outbound destination is Indonesia. Between 1989 and 1994 departures to Indonesia increased by 36% and in 1995 grew by 5% against a total visits increase of 7% (BTA 1996a). The BTA (1996a) observe that these trips alone can account for a large percentage of the additional overseas trips undertaken by Australians in recent years, and that it is because of Indonesia's proximity and highly competitive airfares that many Australian visitors to Indonesia are travelling overseas for the first time.

Australians and Tourism to the UK

The UK continues to be a very popular destination with Australian tourists. Despite a slight decrease in visits during the Gulf War years of 1990-1991, visits to the UK from Australia recovered quickly and despite the recession and the more recent Asian economic crisis, continue to demonstrate growth. 322 300 Australians travelled to the UK in 1997 making it their third most popular destination country after New Zealand (406 900) and the USA (351 900) (ABS data cited in Jackson 1998). As such, Britain continues to be the top revenue producer for Australia's outbound tourism industry, accounts for well over 20% of all annual sales and is the single most valuable destination for travel agencies in Australia (BTA 1998b).

In 1996, the International Passenger Survey (IPS) recorded that 25 293 000 visits were made to the UK by people travelling from overseas generating regions. Of these, 3% or 655 000 visits were undertaken by Australian residents making Australia the ninth most important tourist generating region for the UK (BTA 1997b, 1997c)[6] [7] [8]. In the same

[5] Short-haul travel to Asian destinations can be less expensive than domestic destinations especially given the recent Asian economic crisis (BTA 1998b).

[6] Chapter Four explains why there is such a large discrepancy between the IPS figures referred to in this paragraph and the ABS figures referred to in the previous paragraph.

year, the IPS recorded that overseas tourists to the UK spent £12 369 million. Of this, 4% or £506 million was spent by Australian tourists making Australia the fifth most important tourist generating region in terms of receipts (BTA 1997b, BTA 1997c)[9] [10]. Australians' average spend per visit in 1996 was high at £770 compared with an overseas tourist average of £485 and ranked 20th out of all UK tourist generating regions (BTA 1997c). However, average spend per day at £38.20 was lower than the overseas tourist average at £55.50 but explained by Australian's longer than average stay in the UK (BTA 1997b)[11]. In 1996, Australians stayed in the UK for 13.2 million nights, constituting 6% of the 221 million total nights spent by overseas tourists to the UK (BTA 1997b)[12]. Their average length of stay is also relatively high at 20.2 nights compared with the overseas tourist average of 8.7 nights[13] [14].

The data in Table 5.1 reveal that there was an equal balance of male and female Australian travellers to the UK in 1996 and that a higher proportion of women travel from Australia to the UK as opposed to women travelling from other overseas tourist generating regions. Table 5.2 in addition shows that the proportion of visits made for travel is highest in the 25-34 and 45-54 age group categories. The main reason for why the proportion of holiday visits decreases between these age categories is probably associated with the expense of travelling to the UK from Australia with a family. The table additionally reveals that travel in the 55-64 and 65 and over age categories is significantly higher than it is for people travelling from other overseas generating destinations.

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[7] In 1997, the IPS recorded that 697 000 visits were undertaken by Australian residents representing an increase of 6% (BTA 1998a).
[8] after France, USA, Germany, Irish Republic, Belgium, the Netherlands, Italy and Spain (BTA 1997c).
[9] In 1997, the IPS recorded that Australian tourists spent £534 million representing an increase of 6% on 1996 figures (BTA 1998a).
[10] after the USA, Germany, Irish Republic and France (BTA 1997c).
[11] The expenditure figures in this paragraph do not include monies spent on air fares.
[12] making it rank fifth after the USA, Germany, France and the Irish Republic (BTA 1996b; 1997c).
[13] making it rank sixth after New Zealand, Pakistan, Zimbabwe, the former Yugoslavia region and China (BTA 1997b, 1997c).
[14] In Perspective (1997c) record that Australians' length of visit to the UK increases with age (with the exception of Young Working Traveller Extenders).

Table 5.1: Gender of Visitors to the UK - 1996

	World (excluding the Irish Republic)		Australia	
Gender	'000	% of total	'000	% of total
Male	13 163	57	326	50
Female	10 052	43	329	50
Total	23 215	100	655	100

Source: IPS data cited in BTA (1997b).

Table 5.2: Age of Visitors to the UK - 1996

	World (excluding the Irish Republic)		Australia	
Age	'000	% of total	'000	% of total
0-15	2 063	9	33	5
16-24	3 495	15	73	11
25-34	5 183	22	137	21
35-44	4 825	21	102	16
45-54	4 561	20	145	22
55-64	1 977	9	101	15
65 +	1 112	5	65	10

Source: IPS data cited in BTA (1997b).

Australians are typically independent travellers, that is, they do not usually purchase packages of travel or inclusive tours. Table 5.3 illustrates that in 1996, 256 000 or 39% of Australian travellers undertook an independent tour of the UK which was significantly higher than the total overseas tourist average at 30%. The table also shows that many travel to the UK for VFR which is not surprising given Australia's history; that is, its invasion by the British in 1788, the UK's exportation of 'convicts' and the continued mass migration of people from the UK (Hughes 1987). In 1996 for example, 224 000 or

34% travelled to the UK to visit friends or relatives which is significantly higher than the total travelling from other overseas regions at 19%.

Table 5.3: Australian Tourists' Purpose of Visit to the UK - 1996

	World (excluding the Irish Republic)		Australia	
Purpose of Visit	'000	% of total	'000	% of total
Holiday - independent	7 662	30	256	39
Holiday - inclusive	3 379	13	66	10
Business	6 133	24	57	9
Study	835	3	0	0
VFR	4 921	19	224	34
Other	2 364	9	54	8
Total	25 293	100	655	100

Source: IPS data cited in BTA (1997b).

The BTA (1998b) describe Australians as being adventurous and having a strong desire to travel well off the beaten track. Table 5.4 corroborates this and shows that they are highly peripatetic and spend less overnights in London than travellers from other overseas destinations.

It can be strongly suggested therefore that travel is a very important part of Australian people's culture, that Australians are very familiar with travelling long distances within their own country and that many additionally partake in long-haul overseas travel and more specifically to the UK (although the Asian countries pose increasing competition). Australians in contrast to UK tourists from other overseas destinations were found to spend a lot of money whilst in the UK and stay for long period of time, thus making them very important to the UK tourism industry.

Table 5.4: Australian Tourists' Regions of Stay in the UK - 1996

Region of Stay	World (excluding Irish Republic) Over-nights %	Australia Over-nights %
England	86.8	83.8
London	38.5	31.7
Rest of England	48.3	52.1
North Country	11.1	16.7
Central England	14.4	14.3
Southern England	22.7	21.1
Channel Islands	0.2	0.3
Isle of Man*	0.1	0.1
Unspecified	0.0	0.0
Scotland*	9.3	11.0
Wales	2.8	3.8
Northern Ireland	0.6	0.9
Oil rigs/travelling	0.2	0.0

*Excludes direct departures.

Source: IPS data cited in BTA (1997b).

Australian tourists were furthermore revealed to be equally balanced between women and men (more women travel as a proportion from Australia than the rest of the world) and usually 25-34 or 45-54 years in age (a significant proportion were found to be 65 years and older). Many more as a proportion compared to other overseas tourists were found to undertake their travel independently, to travel for VFR purposes and (as evidenced by the Australian tourists referred to in Chapter Six) to travel more widely whilst in the UK (perhaps because of their familiarity with long journeys in their own country). It was additionally found that most travel from NSW, to travel by air and like most other overseas tourists, to travel between January and September (BTA 1997b)[15] [16] [17].

[15] Whilst Australians travel to the UK from all over Australia, most by far (248 000 or, 37.8%) resided in NSW in 1996 (BTA 1997b).

Producing (Tele)Tourism from Australia to the UK

This part of the chapter explores how tourism is facilitated and (re)produced from Australia to the UK. As Chapters Three and Four reveal, it is because BTA Sydney plays such a significant part in this facilitation and (re)production, that this part of the chapter focuses on its promotional practice and examines how the processes and practices involved (re)produce Australians as UK tourists and the UK as a destination for them. It also explores how BTA Sydney inter-connects these processes and practices with motion picture and television film in particular.

Many organizations constitute the tourism industry which facilitates tourism from Australia to the UK and include national, regional and local tourist boards/offices, tourist attractions, accommodation facilities, airlines, coach tours, car-hire organizations, tour operators and travel agencies. There are over 3,000 travel agents in Australia, over 50% of which are members of the Australian Federation of Travel Agents. Many are wholly owned or franchises of major retail chains which include Jetset, Thomas Cook, American Express, Flight Centres and Traveland, whilst others are privately owned or

[16] I was interested to discover which air carriers were most frequently used by Australian tourists to the UK but found it difficult to access appropriate information. After several telephone conversations with people at the Federal Airports' Corporation in Sydney, the International Air Transport Association, the Civil Aviation Authority, the Department of Transport and Regional Development, Air Services Australia and ABS, (the ABS have tried to assimilate information of this kind utilizing the flight codes recorded on departure and arrival cards but found that people frequently did not know their numbers or recorded incorrect flight numbers) I was only able to obtain information relating to direct scheduled flights. British Airways (BA), Qantas and Virgin (using Malaysian Airlines' flight codes) are the only three carriers to operate direct scheduled routes. For the year beginning August 1995 and ending July 1996, Qantas was the most popular carrier operating 2 flights a day carrying 233 459 people from Australia to the UK with a seat utilization of 80.4%. BA similarly operated 2 flights a day carrying 189 370 people from Australia to the UK with a seat utilization of 64.3% and were followed by Virgin/Malaysian Airlines who operated 1 flight per day carrying 2 954 people from Australia to the UK with a seat utilization 23.1% (Manoranjan 1997). Many Australians however fly with other scheduled carriers which fly via their home country like for example Japanese Airlines who fly via Tokyo. There has also been an increase in the use of round the world air tickets flying via America (which although cheaper in price are longer in journey time) and, in the use of chartered air carriers.

belong to travel agent collectives benefiting from membership deals and override commission and include the Harvey World Travel Group and UTAG[18]. Few book directly with UK products and instead provide access to wholesalers or tour operators who offer a variety of UK products[19] [20]. The level of product representation varies from fly/drive packages to fully comprehensive programmes. However, it is because Australians typically travel independently (as discussed in the last part of the chapter) that travel agents sell different components from wholesalers' programmes and are usually very knowledgeable about the UK[21].

Each constituent tourism organization will contribute to the UK's (re)production as a destination and the (re)production of Australians as tourists to it in the ways described by Chapter Three. However, it is the specific, essential and official remit of BTA Sydney to maximize the contribution that incoming tourism from Australia makes to the British economy which as such has a powerful direct and indirect influence on the tourism industry that realizes this. Its key objectives are to provide leadership to the tourism industry, to develop key market intelligence and to co-ordinate the industry's promotion of the UK (BTA 1998a). BTA Sydney is one of a network of 42 BTA overseas offices which report to a head office based in London[22]. It is located at Circular Quay in an impressive tower block of blue glass with running water, petrified plants and fantastic (albeit vertiginous!) views of the Harbour (see Figure 4.3 in Chapter Four) and shares the

[17] Like other overseas tourists, most Australians travel to the UK during the second, third and forth quarters of the year (27%, 35% and 23% in 1996) whilst the least travel during the first quarter, (15% in 1996) (BTA 1997b).

[18] Many of the chains operate a strict preferred product arrangement whereby the wholesalers offer an over-ride commission for increased sales of their products.

[19] The wholesaler will expect a minimum of 15% commission and more frequently 20-25% so that they are able to pass on commission to the travel agent and to include the product in their brochure which is published once a year and usually between October and December.

[20] General Sales Agents (GSA) may also act as a liaison between UK tourist products and retail agencies. The main difference between the GSA and the wholesaler is that GSA's do not produce a brochure and will market the product in question under its own name. Other travel products may opt just to have marketing representation.

[21] Larger airlines like Qantas and British airlines operate their own in-house leisure wholesale programme with immediate access to good distribution within the travel agency network. They have a substantial product range on offer and are influential in being able to offer products at discounted prices in order to guarantee passengers on their flight seats.

16th floor with the British Consulate. It comprises administration offices and a public reception area where people can collect and/or purchase information on the UK[23].

BTA Sydney's specific brief is to encourage the sustained travel and spend of Australian residents to the UK. In order to do this effectively, BTA Sydney promotes the UK directly to Australian residents and works very closely with the Australian travel industry. Many of their campaigns invite and encourage people to contact the BTA either by telephone, fax, or coupon response. The BTA then seeks to convert this interest into actual bookings by providing people with the information they require and encouraging them to visit a travel agent, preferably a BritAgent (BritAgents are discussed in more detail later here). Consumer promotional work includes the generation of positive UK travel editorial in Australian consumer media (particularly special promotional supplements[24]), advertizing in appropriate media, attendance at major Australian consumer shows, database mailings, promotional telephone messages which people hear when holding to speak to BTA information staff, an internet site, the publication and distribution of promotional print (which includes the *Movie Map* of Appendix D) and provision of information[25].

Australian tourists are encouraged to, and do typically book their flights and a range of UK tourist products with travel agents. Their experience of the UK is thus organized before they have travelled there in the ways suggested by Chapter Three (MacCannell 1976). The BTA has recently relaunched a BritAgency travel agency partnership programme which is based on the provision of information and promotion material. It now numbers 750 agencies and over 3 000 consultants throughout Australia who are

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[22] Lord Carrington, the UK High Commissioner in Australia opened the Australian office for the then British Travel Association in Sydney on the 18 March 1958.

[23] BTA Sydney is operated by 10 members of staff headed up by a general manager.

[24] See for example McCabe (1997).

[25] In addition to the promotional print produced for all English speaking tourists, BTA Sydney publishes two pieces of print specifically for Australian tourists. BTA's *An Australian's Britain and Ireland* (Lynam 1997) is a guide book published in association with BA Holidays and had a print run of 100 000 for their 1997 issue. It is distributed in the office's reception area, in response to mail, fax and telephone enquires, at consumer shows and via the BritAgent network. BTA Sydney also produces a brochure, *Britain* (Liddall 1996b) which had a print run of 130 000 for 1997.

destination specialists on Britain and trained by the BTA to convert interest into actual bookings and to extend the stay of Australians to the UK. Promotional practice targeted at the travel trade includes the generation of positive UK travel editorial in Australian travel trade media, participation in travel agents' visiting educational programmes to the UK, BritAgents' seminars, fax broadcasts and BritAgents' newsletters[26].

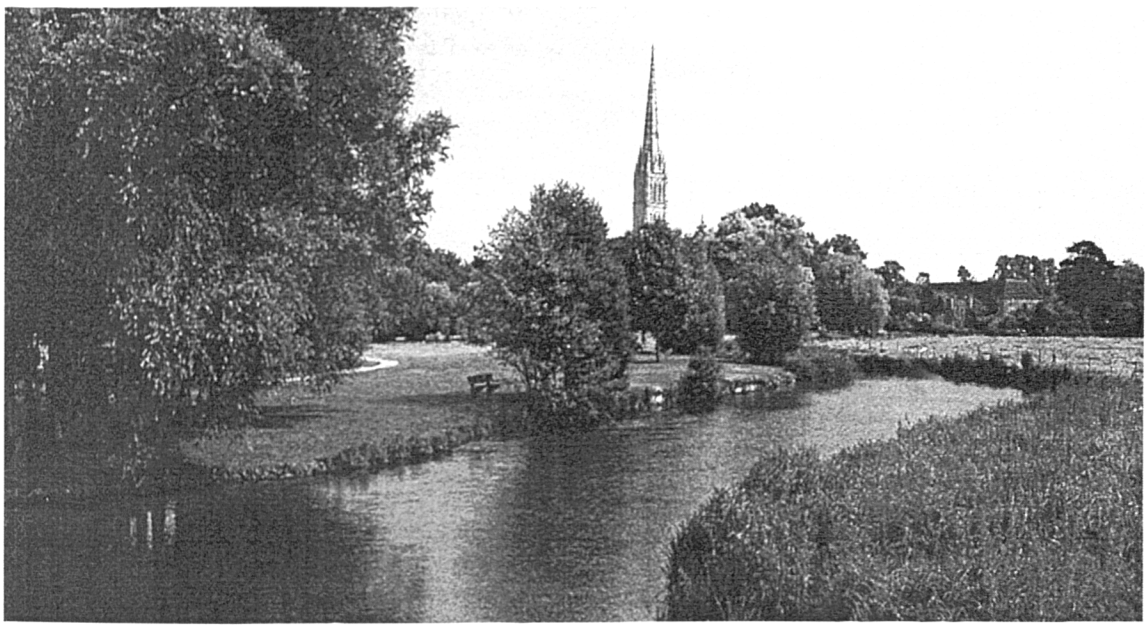
Whilst BTA's promotional practice impacts on all those Australians that become exposed to it directly or indirectly through travel agencies, tour operators and air-carriers, it is specifically targeted at four market segments which have been identified by the BTA to have the highest propensity to travel to Britain and to realize the highest potential return on investment: **Young Working Traveller Extenders 17-27, S/DINKS - Single/Duel Income No Kids Yet 25-35**[27], **Empty Nesters 45-60** and **Retired Seniors 55+**. And, as Chapter Six reveals, 55% of the Australian tourists I interviewed were of the latter two categories. The BTA understands that its biggest challenge is to (re)produce a UK which sustains an interest with a population who increasingly seek difference. The BTA understands that the UK is seen by many Australians as not being fashionable enough because of its identity with an old colonial Australia, the empire and the monarchy. This together with the many Australians born into non-English speaking countries has spurred the population's curiosity for alternative destinations (BTA 1997a). In order to be successful therefore, the UK tourism industry has to find ways of capitalizing on UK icons whilst demonstrating that the UK too has moved on and is as much a cultural melting pot as Australia, a 'cool Britannia' in fact (BTA 1998a).

BTA's promotional practice (which is emulated by much of the industry) is thus designed to (re)produce the UK (and its residents) as an ideal tourist destination for the Australian tourist market segments and currently promotes the UK as four countries (England, Scotland, Ireland and Wales) for the price of one[28]. Its promotional practice

[26] The BTA also provides quality information relating to the Australian travel trade, travel trade and consumer media contacts, UK tourism products and services and research material and statistics relating to Australia and Australians, Australians' practice of travel and tourism and Australian tourism to the UK.
[27] BTA specifically include gay markets here (BTA 1998b).
[28] England is further organized into a four regions; London, South, Central and North England.

for the latter three market segments emphasizes places of historical and architectural significance and natural beauty which are (re)produced in the best of climatic conditions. The UK is (re)produced as a place of pomp and circumstance, castles, imposing stately homes, thatched cottages and idyllic rural scenes, and as one Australian tourist put it, "the sort of thing that tugs at tourists' heart-strings". Its residents too are (re)produced as friendly, benign and/or mildly eccentric folk who sometimes wear traditional costumes. Figures 5.1 and 5.2 illustrate examples of how the UK is mythologized like the places (and people) of Selwyn's (1993), Goss' (1993) and Rojek's (1997) brochure analyses which were discussed in Chapter Three.

Figure 5.1: View of Salisbury



Source: Liddall's (1997b) *Britain.*

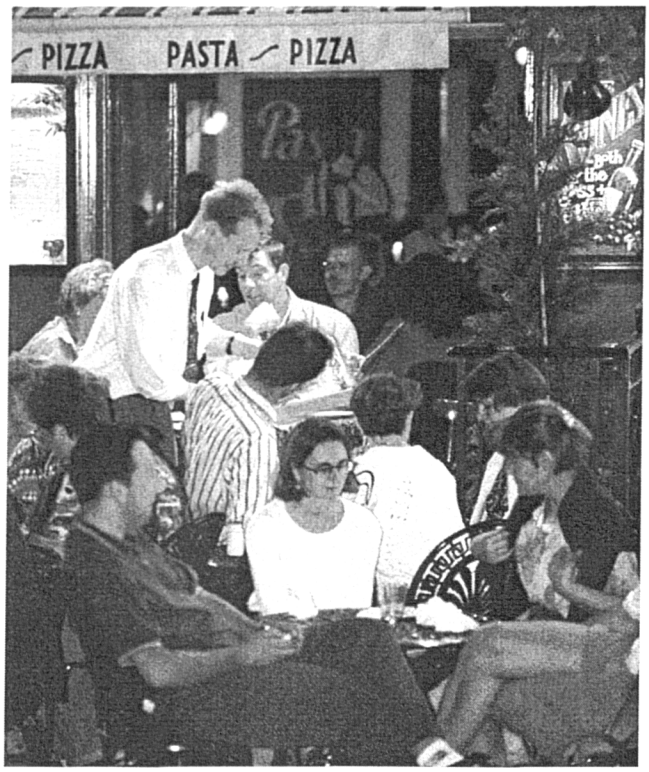
Promotional practice designed with the Young Working Traveller Extenders in mind introduces alternative tropes of designer fashion, shopping, art and architecture, food, Brit-Pop and café society as is illustrated in Figure 5.3[29].

[29] See BTA's *UK: The Guide 2 London* (Murray 1997).

Figure 5.2: Horse Guards' Parade

Source: Liddall's (1997b) *Britain.*

Figure 5.3: Café Society



Source: Murray's (1997) *UK: The Guide 2 London.*

The BTA in conjunction with national, regional and local tourism organizations encourages the development and management of a tourism product to match this mythology in the way proposed by Hughes (1992) and Cloke & Perkins (1998) in Chapter Three. The practices involved concomitantly (re)produce Australians as tourists. BTA's promotional practice establishes a set of expectations and organizes the UK and its residents for Australians before they have even set foot in the UK (MacCannell 1976). It aesthetically validates what is worth viewing and provides a series of markers which constitute an itinerary of sites to be seen and collected (Goss 1993; Crang 1996). It also (re)produces quite specific tourist behaviour. Tourists are encouraged to purchase as many of their UK tourism products and services whilst in Australia which in addition to air flights, include accommodation, car hire and other forms of transportation, organized tours, visitor travel-cards (for London's public transportation systems), Great British Heritage passes and London White Cards for entry into British and London tourist attractions respectively and tickets for sporting and social events.

Inter-Connecting BTA Promotional Practice with Television and Film

> Film "is a very cost effective way to use someone else's budget to achieve our (BTA) objectives", (Alwyn-Jones (BTA Sydney's Head of Marketing), 1996, p1).

BTA Sydney has more recently developed relationships with producers of non-tourism British products represented in Australia who include, Jaguar, Cadbury, United Distillers and Marks & Spencer in order to maximize potential for promotional practice. Since the publication of the *Movie Maps* (Boyden 1990; Liddall 1996a), film depicting the UK has also become an increasingly important part of BTA Sydney's promotional practice which specifically focuses on travel programmes screened on Australian television and motion picture films which depict the UK (which is interesting given that *television drama*

exerted most influence on the Australians' practice of UK tourism I worked with in Chapter Six)[30].

Australia has one of the world's highest cinema going populations in the world and receives films launched in other countries very quickly after their release[31]. The distributors are highly sophisticated in their marketing and the timing of film releases and with regard to films produced in and/or depicting the UK will often contact the BTA Sydney in relation to travel and brokering promotions. BTA's biggest campaign involving any film to date has been the one which focused on *Loch Ness*[32]. REP, the film distributors for *Loch Ness* contacted BTA in 1996 to see whether it would be possible to work in collaboration on marketing the film before its release date. BTA agreed to work with REP but persuaded them to delay the release date of the film in order to afford them further time to undertake joint promotional exercises. The Nestlé/Nesquik campaign was the most significant of these and involved a prize draw launched in July 1996.

The prize draw featured on 650 000 packs of Nesquik (one of which is depicted in Figure 5.4) and formed part of Nesquik's product rebranding. The pack refers to the BTA and partner sponsors and features graphics from *Loch Ness* and a rabbit which was used throughout the Nesquik promotions. The campaign included magazine, radio and television advertizements of 30 seconds which promoted Nesquik, Scotland, *Loch Ness*,

[30] BTA Sydney also distributes British tourism promotional videos produced more generally for English speaking markets.

[31] The first motion picture films were screened in Australia during 1896, the year after the Lumière brothers opened the world's first cinema in Paris. Marius Sestier, one of the Lumières' photographers travelled to Australia and made Australia's first films in Sydney and at Flemington Racecourse during the Melbourne Cup. By 1911, the industry was flourishing following the production of *Soldiers of the Cross* and *The Story of the Kelly Gang* and over 250 silent feature films were produced before the advent of talkies and Hollywood. Film companies like Cinesound were originated and early Australian actors included Errol Flynn and Chips Rafferty (John Gottage). Prior to governmental subsidies during 1969 and 1970 the film industry found it difficult to compete with the US and UK. However, a renaissance in the 1970's of Australian cinema produced films, actors and directors who have gained international recognition.

[32] *Loch Ness* is a romantic comedy about an internationally renowned university professor who is sceptical about stories of a Loch Ness monster. He visits Loch Ness in order to dispel its myth and in so doing falls in love with a local woman whose daughter has psychic powers.

BTA, sponsoring partners and special packs (with two for the price of one movie tickets and an entry form for a prize draw to win a family holiday for four to Loch Ness). The pack and media advertizing were supported by bin and gondola end displays in all major stores throughout Australia.

Figure 5.4: Nesquik's Milk Pack Label

Television advertizing to promote the prize draw cost Nestlé in excess of $250 000(Aus) and it was estimated that the whole campaign cost Nestlé $750 000(Aus) (Alwyn-Jones 1996). Cathay Pacific provided four unrestricted round the world air tickets to Scotland, Hertz provided hire cars, Blake's provided accommodation on a boat or cottage on/by Loch Ness for seven nights and Nestlé provided $1 000(Aus) spending money. BTA contributed no finance at all but steered the campaign's co-ordination and provided Great British Heritage passes and the prizes for winners. The campaign was hugely successful and generated over 200 000 prize draw entries. Exposure for Scotland, Loch Ness and *Loch Ness* was extensive; *Loch Ness* proved to be more popular with viewers in Australia than any other country in which it was screened and it was felt that this promotional work made a significant impact. Other promotional activity relating to the *Loch Ness* campaign included one feature on Channel 7's travel programme, *The Great*

Outdoors. Another prize draw for a holiday for four in Loch Ness was previewed one week, launched during the next week and prize winners were announced the next week, providing the BTA, Loch Ness and *Loch Ness* with further excellent coverage at peak viewing times[33] [34]. Given this however, it is interesting that none of the Australian tourists I worked with mentioned *Loch Ness* (see Chapter Six).

BTA Sydney has also become involved with the production of UK travel features screened on Australian travel and lifestyle programmes and has a very powerful rôle in how the UK is (re)produced on screen. BTA's Head of Media Relations explains how,

> "The main travel programme on Australian television is produced by TCN Channel Nine and titled *Getaway* – an hour long prime time show focusing on both domestic and international travel. Over the last couple of years, *Getaway* approached the BTA for support to visit the UK to film a number of places and attractions for five minute slots on their show. This worked really well. Last year they approached us once again to do an hour long special on Britain due to the popularity of the shorter segments shown previously (Britain segments attracted more enquiries than any other overseas destination shown throughout the year).
>
> What I mainly had to do was look at our targeted segments and what areas we should cover for regional spread. As they scheduled the visit in June, it was one of the best summers, plenty of sunshine and with the long daylight hours they were able to film well into the early evenings. We were able to cover parts of Scotland, Wales, north and south west England and also London. Examples of travel were cycling in the Cotswolds, walking across the north of Britain, rail in Scotland, camping in Wales. The result was fabulous and we received lots of positive feed-back. However, it was more an awareness exercise which in fact is rather important in that it moves people along the communications life cycle i.e., unawareness into conviction.
>
> It is quite unusual to have editorial control in the media in Australia but the nature of this one hour special was entirely left for the BTA to come up with the ideas, and with that the producer of the show agreed on the final content. The BTA conducts ongoing research on Australians visiting Britain and with this we knew which segments we wanted to target through this powerful means of communication"

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[33] Fuji Film and Virgin Atlantic additionally launched prize draws for movie passes and a holiday in Loch Ness.

[34] BTA has also exploited the recent interest in period costume dramas (frequently based on Jane Austen's novels) and co-ordinated a prize draw highlighting *Emma* with Mr Kipling's Mince Pies, BA Holidays and Discover Britain (a tour operator) during the 1996 Christmas period which featured on 2.5 million packs. It was also involved with promotional work with Malaysian airlines relating to the launch of *Sense & Sensibility* and *Mr Holland's Opus* on video and were also working on a promotion with Colgate products in relation to the release in Australia of, *The Lost World*, (a sequel to *Jurassic Park* featuring a family holiday trip to the Natural History Museum in London) which was to include a significant element of television advertizing.

The televized (re)production of the UK on Australia's travel documentaries is thus highly contrived (Aitken 1994a). BTA Sydney seek to encode both highly intended paradigmatic and syntagmatic meanings which (re)produce discourses about the UK in order to match their own specific objectives (Burgess 1987). However, as discussed in Chapter Six, it is interesting given the efforts involved, that travel documentaries were mentioned by so few of the Australian tourists I worked with.

BTA Sydney understands that film depicting the UK is also a very powerful media relations tool (Alwyn-Jones 1996). Film is often used as a device to promote the generation of positive editorial on travel to and within the UK. Where appropriate, the BTA Sydney invites audiences of travel writers, BritAgents and significant people from the Australian travel industry to the private screenings of newly released films depicting the UK. Whilst I was in Australia, the BTA had organized the screening of *The Englishman Who Went Up a Hill But Came Down a Mountain* and *Loch Ness*. Films are specially selected for screening that (re)produce a highly attractive UK[35]. It is intended that these screenings will engender a curiosity and inspire and encourage travel writers to produce highly positive editorial and imagery about the UK. Film is also used in this way to rejuvenate BritAgents' and wholesalers' enthusiasm and knowledge of the UK product.

The spate of Austen films which include, *Pride & Prejudice*, *Emma* and *Sense & Sensibility* together with the work of BTA's Media Relations Department have spurred the production of much travel editorial on UK locations depicted in them; women's magazines in particular have demonstrated a strong interest in Austen film locations. Articles typically provide accounts of where scenes were filmed[36], some are motivated by film but are essentially editorials on places[37], some highlight the difficulties posed by

[35] The BTA described how *Trainspotting* and *Shallow Grave* do not present the UK in an obviously attractive way. See also how some news bulletins and films like *In the Name of the Father* did not make the UK appealing to the Australian tourists I worked with in Chapter Six.
[36] See Boylen (1996a) on *Sense & Sensibility*, Huxley (1996a) on *Pride & Prejudice* and Koserski (1996) on *Sense & Sensibility* and *Pride & Prejudice*.
[37] See Boylen (1996b) on *Loch Ness* and Brooks (1995) on *Heartbeat*.

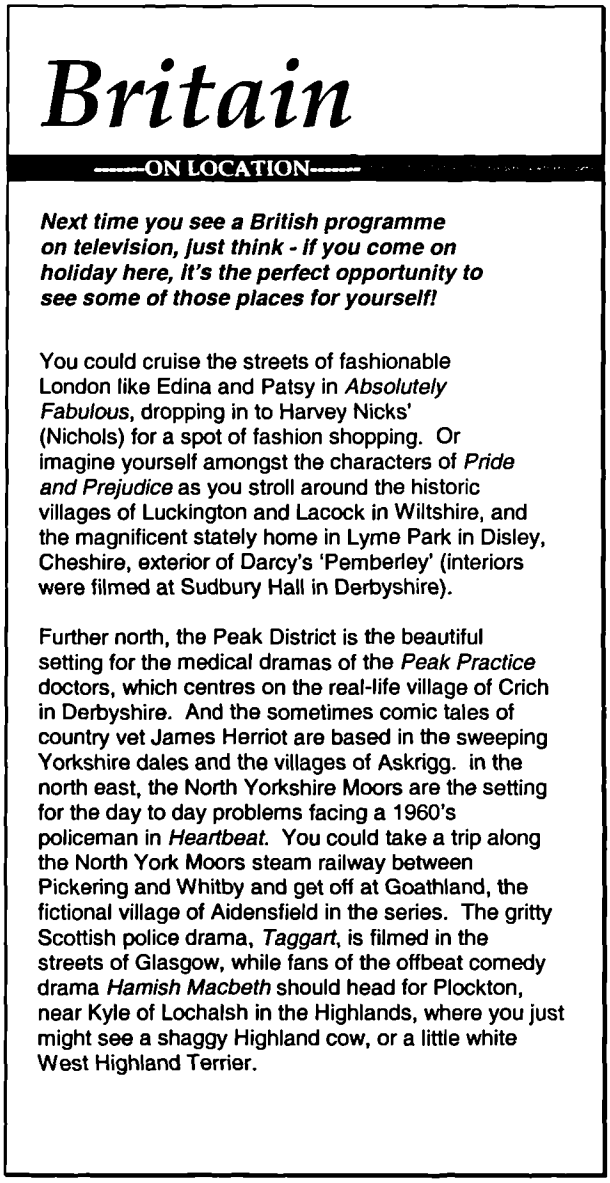
films set in one place yet filmed in another[38] and some present a new way of touring the UK[39].

BTA Sydney also uses theme music from a variety of British television series for their telephone hold tune. However, it is the *Movie Map* of Appendix D which most obviously uses television and film as a marketing device although other print incorporates references to places' (tele)filmic connections, see for example Figure 5.5[40].

Like the promotional practice of BTA Sydney more generally, television and motion picture films are utilized to (re)produce the UK as a highly desirable place to tour to in a variety of ways (see Chapter Two). In so doing, film and television also contributes to the (re)production of Australians as tourists to the UK and becomes an important part of a hermeneutic circuit (described in Chapter Three) where the embodied tourist gaze is anticipated and mobilized (Cloke & Perkins 1998; Urry 1990a). Employing film and television in this way additionally provides BTA Sydney with an important means of affecting organic images (also discussed in Chapter Three) which have a more powerful effect upon people's imagined geographies of place than those generated by the induced imagery of brochures and advertizing (Gunn 1972).

[38] See Huxley (1996b).
[39] See Lee (1995) and McCabe (1997).
[40] See also the 1996 edition of *An Australian's Britain and Ireland* and *Britain* (Lynam 1997) which links Goathland to *Heartbeat* and Glen Nevis to *Braveheart*. Stamford is incorrectly linked with *Pride & Prejudice* rather than *Middlemarch*.

Figure 5.5: Editorial from the 1998 edition of *Britain*.



Britain

-----ON LOCATION-----

Next time you see a British programme on television, just think - if you come on holiday here, it's the perfect opportunity to see some of those places for yourself!

You could cruise the streets of fashionable London like Edina and Patsy in *Absolutely Fabulous*, dropping in to Harvey Nicks' (Nichols) for a spot of fashion shopping. Or imagine yourself amongst the characters of *Pride and Prejudice* as you stroll around the historic villages of Luckington and Lacock in Wiltshire, and the magnificent stately home in Lyme Park in Disley, Cheshire, exterior of Darcy's 'Pemberley' (interiors were filmed at Sudbury Hall in Derbyshire).

Further north, the Peak District is the beautiful setting for the medical dramas of the *Peak Practice* doctors, which centres on the real-life village of Crich in Derbyshire. And the sometimes comic tales of country vet James Herriot are based in the sweeping Yorkshire dales and the villages of Askrigg. in the north east, the North Yorkshire Moors are the setting for the day to day problems facing a 1960's policeman in *Heartbeat*. You could take a trip along the North York Moors steam railway between Pickering and Whitby and get off at Goathland, the fictional village of Aidensfield in the series. The gritty Scottish police drama, *Taggart*, is filmed in the streets of Glasgow, while fans of the offbeat comedy drama *Hamish Macbeth* should head for Plockton, near Kyle of Lochalsh in the Highlands, where you just might see a shaggy Highland cow, or a little white West Highland Terrier.

Source: Bowen (1997, p36).

Australians and Television Film

This part of the chapter discusses the production and consumption of television in Australia. It investigates when and where television is viewed in Australia, what type of tele-filmic material is viewed and for how long, and, how and why watching television

film is undertaken by Australians. It also discusses Australia's five terrestrial networks, cable, satellite and digital television, the different programme genres they broadcast, travel shows and the documentation of my own observation of, and participation in Australians' viewing of television film.

Television has been available to Australians since 1956 (Moran 1989). Following from Chapter Two, I found watching television to be a very important part of Australians' ordinary everyday life experience, the motivation for much conversation and gossip, an intricate part of Australians' daily routine, and established within many discourses of Australian life (Silverstone 1994). Watching television was an important part of the everyday life in both of my Australian homes. Many of the students at IH had their own television sets which they viewed (mainly in the evenings) alone and/or with friends. Some also watched television in the common rooms there with groups of other students. Films and television series produced in the US (particularly *The X Files*) were very popular and prompted discussion at mealtimes, were debated in the newspapers and their letters which we read there and provided a framework for the students' lives[41] [42].

In my second home, the television set was situated in the living room and was usually on by the time I was up and about in the morning (07.30am). It sole viewer at this time was Zöe who was an ardent fan of *The Wiggles* (a very popular Australian children's television series depicting group of young men who sing and perform), Walt Disney's animated motion picture film, *The Aristocats* and the children's television series, *Play School*. *The Wiggles* and *The Aristocats* were recorded onto video-tape and played back whereas *Play School* was broadcast. The television served to entertain and distract Zöe for up to two hours whilst her parents made breakfast, washed, dressed and prepared for going to work. Its rôle in the evening was more for relaxation. Both Paul and Rachel worked long hard and sometimes difficult hours and led very busy lives. The telephone was always ringing, they had a lot of visitors and liked to go out as much as they could. Watching television in the evening (for up to three hours sometimes) however, distracted

[41] Several of the articles I read were concerned with violence on television (Davies 1997a,b).

them from work and domestic chores and facilitated a time for them to be together and to relax. Whilst Paul and Rachel said that they disliked American television, they seemed to make an effort to watch and particularly enjoyed television series produced in the US like for example, *The X Files*, *Melrose Place*, *ER*, *The Nanny* and *Chicago Hope*. Paul also liked to watch a video chart show on Saturday morning and recorded a two hour news report on Sunday morning which he watched after going to church on Sunday. Both were insistent about 'rubbishy' television not being on (especially when Zöe was around) and for the television not to be on when no one was viewing it[43]. Watching television prompted much conversation relating to the situations and actors depicted; that is, what actors looked like (whether they were attractive or not), what they got up to in their off-screen lives, what Paul and Rachel would have done in the screened circumstances and, how what was screened inter-connected with their own lives (Kennedy & Lukinbeal 1997).

My experience of Australians watching television seemed to be fairly typical. As Table 5.5 illustrates, other Australians (like the British people in Chapter Two) spend far more time, (103 minutes a day) watching television than undertaking any other cultural activities. Australians' use of videos and video-recording is also popular. In a survey undertaken by the ABS in 1994, just under 60% of households with children viewed a video in the two weeks prior to the survey and 39.5% of adults reported that they had viewed a video in the same period. The survey also found that almost 5.1 million households (79.3% of all Australian households) had a video recorder and that just under 58% had hired at least one video in the previous month (ABS 1996a).

[42] Movies were also screened at weekends and groups of people regularly went out to the cinema together.
[43] Paul and Rachel went out once to the cinema to see the film *Evita* and hired a video (*Jane Eyre*) on one occasion only when I was living with them.

Table 5.5: Average Time Spent on Selected Main Cultural Activities - 1992

Activity	Average Time Spent Per Day (minutes)
religious activities, ritual ceremonies	5.6
seeing a movie	**1.1**
attending a sports event	2.2
sport (organized)	7.9
going for a walk, walking for exercise	3.9
plying, informal sport	2.4
fishing, bush-walking, other outdoor activity	8.6
card, paper, board, pinball and parlour games	3.1
computer games, computing as a leisure activity	1.4
games of chance, gambling	1.4
crafts (excluding clothes making)	5.3
performing music, drama, dancing	1.2
reading books (other than studying)	6.7
reading magazines	1.2
watching and listening to television	**103.0**
watching videos	**4.4**
listening to radio	3.7

Source: ABS (1996b).

Whilst the Australians I worked with (again, like the British people discussed in Chapter Two) demonstrated a liking for a variety of television genres, television drama and televized films seemed to be the most popular genres based on my own observations of them watching television and my conversation with the Australian tourists (see Chapter Six). I was rather surprised therefore to learn that a survey undertaken in 1991 found that news/current affairs were the most popular type of programmes viewed on Australian television, followed by movies, documentaries, drama and soaps, comedy, sport and other programmes (Nugent *et al* 1992). Table 5.6 illustrates the type of programmes preferred by Australians according to their age and gender.

Table 5.6: Programme Types Preferred by Australians - 1991

Programme Type	Male %			Female %		
	18-24 n=242	25-54 n=505	55+ n=183	18-24 n=111	25-54 n=491	55+ n=208
1 - News/Current affairs	25	46	57	25	43	57
2 - Movies	43	36	25	45	39	29
3 - Documentaries	12	37	40	9	34	46
4 - Drama/Soaps	19	14	16	42	30	34
5 - Sport	29	33	35	4	5	13
6 - Comedy	39	19	12	21	23	13
7 - Other	8	5	10	10	8	20

Source: Nugent *et al* (1992).

Those viewers aged between 19 and 24 ranked movies as their preferred programme choice (44%) and news and current affairs fourth after drama and comedy. Within this age group there was also a gender difference in preferences with men having a higher preference for comedy (39%) and sport (29%) and women having a higher preference for drama (42%). An increase in age was related to an increase in preference for both news and current affairs and documentaries. 45% of respondents in the 25-54 age group nominated news and current affairs as their preferred viewing and movies (38%) and documentaries (36%) as their second and third choices. The gender difference demonstrated by the 18-24 age group for drama and sport was also maintained in this age group. Like the 18-24 age group, those viewers aged 55 years and older strongly favoured news and current affairs (57%) and documentaries (43%) which were far more popular than the next category, movies (27%). 20% of women over 55 years of age nominated 'other' programme genres such as talk shows and quiz and game shows as a preferred option representing a significantly higher percentage than the other groups[44]

[44] The majority of Australian viewers interviewed for this survey were additionally found to be fairly satisfied with the overall quality of television and choice of programmes. Those that planned their viewing, viewers of commercial stations and younger people more generally were found to demonstrate higher levels of satisfaction (Nugent *et al* 1992).

(Nugent *et al* 1992). These programme preferences are compared and contrasted with the preferred viewing of the Australian tourists I worked with in Chapter Six.

Australian television is regulated by The Australian Broadcasting Authority[45] (ABA) and has five terrestrial networks or channels. The national broadcaster, ABC, broadcasts most of the British television viewed in Australia and does not screen any advertizing. SBS is a government funded multi-cultural channel which screens programmes produced in a variety of countries including Mexico, Indonesia, China, Italy, Japan, Germany, Taiwan and Greece and, advertizing. Channels Seven, Nine, and Ten are commercial channels which screen a mixture of mainly Australian and US produced programmes. There has also been a strong growth in the development of cable television in urban areas (which continues to be strongly contested by Optus and Foxtel who provide substantial competition for 'free to air' channels) and satellite television in rural areas. Both forms of television are again dominated by programmes produced in the US and the UK. BBC World is available on cable as is UKTV, a dedicated British channel which was launched by Foxtel in 1996 and is now on air 24 hours a day[46]. There is also much discussion about the advent of digital television. However, despite the developments in cable, satellite and digital television, the Australians I encountered only referred to terrestrial television in their conversations with me.

As in the UK, Australian television networks screen a variety of different programme genres which include movies, documentaries, education, children's, news bulletins and current affairs, comedy, sports, drama and lifestyle shows. Table 5.7 illustrates the percentage of commercial broadcasting time accorded to various programme types in Sydney.

[45] The ABA is the independent federal statutory authority responsible for the regulation of the broadcasting industry which includes licensing, programming, ownership and control regulation and planning other broadcasting spectrum (both radio and television).

[46] UKTV was launched by Foxtel in conjunction with BBC Worldwide Television and Pearson Television.

Table 5.7: Programme Types Screened on Sydney's Three Commercial Networks*

Programme Type	Total 1991 %
Children's	16
Overseas Drama	12
Comedy	12
News/Current Affairs	12
Talk Shows	10
Sport	10
Movies	9
Information	5
Australian Drama	4
Quiz Shows	3
Music Video	3
Documentaries	1
Other	3

Source: Nugent *et al* (1992).
*Percentage of Commercial Broadcasting Time (6am to midnight).

Table 5.7 demonstrates how overseas drama constitutes a substantial proportion of total commercial broadcasting. However, I was again surprised to find that Nugent *et al*'s (1992) survey reveals that Australian viewers felt that there were too many overseas drama series being screened[47] [48]. My own research findings starkly contrast with this (and following from Chapter Two) found that the British television drama contingent (which included; *Heartbeat*, *The Bill*, *Peak Practice*, *Carry On* movies, *Thomas the Tank Engine and Friends*, *Keeping Up Appearances*, *Yes Prime Minister*, *Birds of a Feather*, *The All-New Hale & Pace Show*, *Waiting for God*, *Men Behaving Badly* and *Common as Muck* to be extremely popular with the Australians I met and worked with (see Chapters Six and Seven for more detail)[49].

[47] Data relating specifically to UK drama was not available.
[48] The survey also found that there were too many quiz and game shows and sports programmes (Nugent *et al* 1992).
[49] See also Williams (1997).

Three travel shows were broadcast whilst I was undertaking research in Australia; Channel 7's *The Great Outdoors*, Channel 9's *Get Away* and a new travel show, *Holiday* which was screened on Channel 10 and produced in New Zealand. Like those screened in the UK, these travel shows presented a variety of domestic and overseas destinations and information relating to how to tour them, how much it costs to do this, what to do whilst there and special tips. They thus as Chapter Three revealed, importantly mobilize the tourist's embodied gaze well in advance of her/his experience of the destination (Urry 1990a and Cloke & Perkins 1998). In addition to these, travel features were also incorporated within lifestyle programmes like Channel 10's *Healthy, Wealthy and Wise* and breakfast television shows. However, whilst Nugent *et al* (1992) found that these programmes did not meet consumer demand, I was surprised to find that so few of the Australian tourists I worked with referred to travel shows especially given BTA Sydney's efforts in relation to the production of UK travel features (and discussed in more depth earlier).

Conclusion

Travel is a very important part of most Australian people's lives and distinguished by the long distances they are prepared to undertake between one site of settlement and another in their own vast country[50]. Many furthermore enjoy participating in both domestic and overseas tourism and the UK in particular is a very important destination for them (Jackson 1998). Since the British invasion of Australia in 1788, numerous British people have left their family, friends and country to settle in Australia. This movement of peoples together with flows of other accompanying phenomena (described in Chapter Three) has left a legacy of historical, geographical and cultural inter-connections between the two places and their ancestors (see Chapter Eight for further detail).

[50] Australia's area is 7 682 300km² and approximately 5% of the world's land surface. It is approximately 4 000km from east to west and 3 200km from north to south and has a coastline of 36 735 km (Finlay *et al* 1996).

Meanings about the UK are furthermore constructed and circulated in powerful hegemonic discourses which ideologically (re)produce the UK as a superior and 'Great' Britain (Turner 1994). And, despite Paul Keating's call for Australia to "leave home" (Ryan 1995), the popularity of Republicanism and a movement which looks more towards Australia itself as a source of cultural inspiration as opposed to the UK, Britain, the British and British-ness were hugely popular with the Australian tourists I worked with (BTA 1998b)[51]. As such, the UK has a strong 'pull' as a tourist destination. Most of the Australians I met with had been thoroughly saturated with these discourses of the UK from a very early age in the home, school and the work-place. This was evidenced by some of the Australian tourists who described being brought up to think that anything associated with the UK was "A1". One of the Australian tourists had this to say about the UK and the British people for example,

NT: "that's all I need to ask you, is there anything else you'd like to add at all?

Tourist: about England, the UK?

NT: yes

Tourist: oh I think it's a very beautiful country, the people are friendly and em, I think em, probably the most intelligent people in the world are British,

NT: you reckon?

Tourist: yes, oh yes, and I always think it would be good if my little girl went to school there, yes, because em

NT: what makes you say that they're the brightest or the most intelligent people that you've come across?

Tourist: I mean, if you talk to them, I mean they've got such a, you know, if they, they can discuss anything, any topic and em they seem to travel around a lot, they seem to know what's going on in the world, and they speak beautiful English, em, and em they take part in a lot of what's going on" (female, 31-40, 1st generation - Zimbabwe, travelled previously)

As Chapter Six reveals, travel to the UK represents a customary part of growing up and constitutes an integral part of most Australians' overseas experience (OE) which is typically undertaken whilst young (18-30 years). London is usually the first port of call

[51] See Chapter Six.

and serves to provide funding (from employment) for further perambulations in the UK and Europe. It is indeed one of the BTA Sydney's objectives to persuade (what they term), Young Working Traveller Extenders 17-27, to spend more of their earnings in the UK rather than other European countries. One of the tourists I worked with described how his family had been very disappointed by his not undertaking an OE. His travel had therefore been entirely motivated by his need to redress this. Some of the other tourists too (and identified by the BTA as, "Empty Nesters 45-60" and "Retired Seniors 55+") described how they had missed opportunities when they were younger but how they had had to wait until their children left home and, when they had the time and money to afford travel to the UK (BTA 1997a).

This chapter together with Chapter Six has revealed that Australian tourists travelling to the UK are distinguished by particular tourist behaviour. Most undertake independent travel unencumbered by 'packaged' organization, demonstrate an adventurous spirit and have a strong desire to travel widely. A higher proportion of Australian women and older people travel to the UK in contrast to those from other tourist generating regions and, (following from the discussion earlier), a higher proportion tour for VFR reasons. However, it is Australian tourists' propensity to stay for a long time in the UK and to spend substantial sums of money whilst touring which makes them of particular interest to the industry that realizes tourism from Australia to the UK (BTA 1998a).

Whilst demand for tourism from Australia to the UK would exist without outside intervention (because of the inter-connections which exist between the two places and their peoples referred to earlier here), the tourism industry through its promotional practice seeks to maximize this demand in order to generate income for both public and private interests. This promotional practice (which is in evidence at both the tourist generating region and destination) is targeted to prospective tourists directly and, the facilitators of the tourism experience and serves two essential functions; the (re)production of the UK as an irresistible destination for Australians and, the (re)production of Australians (as many as possible) as tourists for it (see Chapter Three).

A significant feature of this promotional practice is the construction of highly attractive (albeit ideological) discourses of the UK which feed from those already in circulation in Australian's everyday lives. These are designed to prompt highly attractive imagined geographies of the UK and to meet the desires, needs, motivations and expectations of prospective Australian tourists. The promotional practice undertaken to do this takes a number of forms; advertizing, sales promotion, personal selling, public relations, direct marketing, sponsorship and printed communications which typically appeal to the sense of sight, (although some promotional work utilizes sound like for example, BTA Sydney's telephone hold tune). Chapter Three described how this kind of promotional practice engenders the production of induced imagery (Gunn 1972, 1988). Research related to it furthermore, revealed how it had an important influence on tourists' production of *attractive* imagined geographies of place and, that places associated with attractive imagined geographies were more likely to be considered and chosen as tourist destinations (Goodrich 1978; Woodside & Lysonski 1989).

It is because BTA Sydney plays such a significant part in the facilitation and (re)production of tourism from Australia to the UK that the chapter has emphasized its promotional practice in particular. It revealed how BTA Sydney designs and strategically targets its promotional practice at four market segments in particular which their market research has identified as having the highest propensity to travel to the UK and, to realize the highest potential return on investment (BTA 1997a). Whilst its promotional practice utilizes traditional UK icons which are cast from discourses already in circulation, it increasingly incorporates new and alternative tropes relating to designer fashion, shopping, art and architecture, food, Brit-Pop and café society (especially with regard to promotional practice targeted at the youngest market segment) (BTA 1998a). The mix of icons and tropes are in turn balanced in a way which matches each market segment's perceived tourism needs and wants. As such, BTA Sydney's promotional practice (in common with that produced by other organizations in the industry which realizes tourism from Australia to the UK) mythologizes the UK and its people in similar

ways to those described by Chapter Three. In so doing, BTA Sydney constitutes a very important part of the hermeneutic circle (referred to in Chapter Three) which produces tourism meanings about the UK which inter-connect with the development and operation of the UK as a tourist destination and, the imaginings, expectations and behaviour of Australian tourists to the UK (Goss 1993; Cloke & Perkins 1998).

Chapter Three revealed how motion picture film and television are increasingly being enrolled by the tourism industry as important and powerful forms of promotional practice. It described how tourism organizations could purchase advertizing space from film distributors and television networks, sponsor specific (tele)filmic items, produce promotional videos and/or become involved with the production of travel shows or programmes screening travel features. Tourist organizations were additionally found to employ place's (tele)filmic connections in their production of marketing print. This chapter has additionally described how film and television have become an increasingly important part of BTA Sydney's promotional practice which focuses on motion picture film and travel programmes in particular. It revealed how BTA Sydney co-ordinated the campaign for the Australian launch of the film *Loch Ness* which (re)produces highly attractive (and appropriate) tourism meanings about Scotland in particular which are inter-connected to an old and well known myth and a romance. The campaign included a prize draw, television advertizing, a feature on Channel 7's *The Great Outdoors*, media travel journalists being sent to Loch Ness and various other spin-off marketing exercises. The campaign engendered the production of both induced and organic imagery, the latter of which as Chapter Three revealed exerts a more powerful influence over the creation of people's imagined geographies of place (Gunn 1972, 1988). The chapter also revealed the extraordinary influence BTA Sydney has on the production of UK features for Australian television travel shows and other programmes. My interview with Donna Wales, BTA Sydney's Head of Media Relations revealed how her input (which is very much contrived to meet BTA Sydney's specific promotional objectives) into the production of this material is hugely consequential to which places (and specific sites)

are depicted, who and what are depicted within them and how, why and when this is undertaken.

BTA Sydney also utilizes films which (re)produce discourses about the UK which match their marketing objectives as a device (together with press releases produced by BTA Sydney) to engender the production of positive editorial by media travel journalists with much success. BTA Sydney in addition makes reference to places' (tele)filmic connections where appropriate in their marketing print with the intention that the potential tourist will inter-connect the place meanings of the (tele)filmic material with the place concerned. The *Movie Map* (Liddall 1996) constitutes the most obvious example of this and has been the most successful piece of promotional print for BTA Sydney. In order to distribute their share of it, BTA Sydney designed an advertizement which appeared in *The Australian Magazine* on the weekend of March 30-31, 1996. The advertizement featured a still from *Sense & Sensibility* and a photograph of the filming, copy describing the map and a response coupon. People were encouraged to remember places in the UK they had seen on film and were invited to actually experience them for themselves. The emphasis was on becoming part of the movie and had an exciting appeal. This advertizement was the most successful advertizement placed by the BTA Sydney to date and generated 2 500 responses within a week.

Like the promotional practice of BTA Sydney more generally therefore, television and motion picture films are enrolled to (re)produce the UK as a highly desirable place to tour to in a variety of ways. In so doing, they contribute to the (re)production of Australians as tourists to the UK and become an important part of a hermeneutic circuit where the development and operation of the UK as a tourist destination is anticipated and, where the embodied tourist gaze is mobilized by the production of contrived geographies of the UK (Urry 1990a; Cloke & Perkins 1998).

Following from this, the chapter investigated the context for the consumption of these tourism geographies and, emphasized television as opposed to cinema because the

Australian tourists I worked with talked about television most (see Chapter Six). Following from Chapter Two, the chapter found television viewing to be an important part of Australians' everyday lives and that Australians (like the British) spend far more of their leisure time watching television as opposed to doing anything else. Australian television (like that in the UK) has both commercial and public owned broadcast, satellite and cable networks which screen many programmes produced in the UK (and the US). Australians were found to view it mainly at home, alone and/or with the family, friends and distraction and to demonstrate a preference for television drama (although some of the research I discussed is in dispute of this). It was presumed that Australian viewers consume meanings about the UK in the ways discussed in Chapter Two and that they therefore validate what they see in terms of its success at (re)producing the UK in a 'realistic' way and employ constructionist methods to gain meanings about it which impact upon their sense of identity.

BTA Sydney's discourses of meaning, understanding and interpretation of the UK (together with those produced by the rest of the industry that realizes tourism from Australia to the UK) are thus powerfully (re)produced for a mass audience which will accept, negotiate or reject them. However, Australians will not only be exposed to geographies of the UK that have been contrived by the producers of tourism. They will additionally engage with those (re)produced for very different intentions which will complicate the effect intended by those producing tourism. In order to establish therefore which geographies of meaning have the most impact and, how and why they inter-connect with Australian tourists' imagined and experienced geographies of the UK, Chapter Six examines that part of the hermeneutic circle of tourism which consumes tourism meanings and, investigates the inter-connection television film has with Australian's practice of tourism consumption.

Chapter Six: Australians' Practice of (Tele)Tourism

Introduction

This chapter together with Chapter Seven investigates Australians' consumption of (tele)tourism and that part of the hermeneutic circle concerned with the consumption of tourism meanings. It gives a voice to some of those actually engaged in the practice of 'doing' tourism and, examines *how* and *why* television film inter-connected with 51 Australians' practice of tourism to the UK in particular. It focuses on television film's relationship with the production of the Australians' imagined geographies of the UK more specifically and, begins to explore the mapping of these onto their experienced geographies of the UK. It comprises two main parts;

- **the Australian tourists** - in order to contextualize the knowledge produced with the tourists, this part of the chapter introduces and tells us about the 51 Australian tourists I worked with. It presents, describes and analyzes data derived from questions I asked Australian tourists before undertaking interviews with them which inform us about what they were like and their practice of (tele)tourism.

- **consuming UK (tele)tourism** - this part of the chapter presents, discusses and analyzes research I undertook with Australians practising UK tourism. It examines material derived from the interviews I carried out with tourists before, during and following their travel to the UK and is complemented by an exploration of tourist travel diaries, tourist records, my own research diary and memories. In so doing, it explores what kinds of television film most significantly inter-connected with Australian tourists' practice of UK tourism, when and where television film inter-connected with Australians' practice of UK tourism and, how and why this happened.

The Australian Tourists

In order to limit and situate the knowledge I produced in conjunction with the 51 Australian tourists, this part of the chapter presents, discusses and analyzes the data I derived from the questions I asked Australian tourists before undertaking interviews with them (and which was documented on the tourist record depicted in Appendix G) which inform us about what they were like and their practice of tourism.

I interviewed 51 Australian tourists whilst I was in Sydney. As Table 6.1 reveals, 26 or 51% of these were women and 25 or, 49% were men. These proportions are also very similar to those delineated for the total population of Australian tourists travelling to the UK and depicted in Table 5.1.

Table 6.1: Gender of the Australian Tourists I Interviewed - 1997

Gender	No	% of total
Male	25	49
Female	26	51
Total	51	100

Table 6.2 illustrates the age of the tourists and shows that whilst I interviewed people of varying ages that I mainly worked with people whose ages ranged between 51 and 60 years. Although I have categorized age differently to the IPS, the proportions of people I interviewed by age were thus not so dissimilar to the total population of tourists who travelled from Australia to the UK as a whole in 1996 (see Table 5.2)[1].

[1] They are also not dissimilar to the age profile of 1996 BTA enquirers (In Perspective 1997a,c).

Table 6.2: Age of the Australian Tourists I Interviewed - 1997

Age	No	% of total
0-21	0	0
21-30	8	16
31-40	10	20
41-50	7	14
51-60	18	25
60 +	8	16

Table 6.3 illustrates that I interviewed people who were or had been involved in a variety of occupations. Whilst I am not able to say precisely, most of the Australian tourists I interviewed appeared to be fairly well off economically except for one woman who worked on a part time basis in the education sector[2]. Of those that were retired, three had been aeronautical engineers and six had worked in education. All the part-time workers were women, all of those that had recently left university (two of the three had undertaken engineering degrees) were undertaking part-time temporary work and the one house-person I interviewed was a woman in her 80's. Most of those that were employed seemed to have achieved executive or managerial status. There was also quite a high proportion of people involved in the legal professions.

The Australians that I interviewed had a variety of ethnic backgrounds. 18 of the Australian tourists that I interviewed were first generation Australians and came from Poland, the UK (three), Spain, Cyprus, Greece (two), Portugal, Malaysia, Egypt (two), South Africa, Ethiopia, Canada, Hungary, Israel and Zimbabwe. The 33 others I worked with were often not quite as sure as to what generation Australian they were. Many

[2] In Perspective (1997b) found that 28% of Empty Nesters' annual household income was more than $50 000, 27% was $30 000 - $50 000 and 31% was less than $30 000. 4% of Retirees' income was $50 000 and over, 9% was $30 000 - $50 000 and 71% was less than $30 000. In both segments married respondents had higher incomes than non-married ones.

mentioned English, Scottish and Irish forebears[3]. Some mentioned forebears from Europe; France, Germany, Spain, Hungary and Austria and even fewer mentioned other places; New Zealand and Egypt. Some described themselves simply as pure Australians and did not feel a particular affiliation to any other country. None of the tourists I interviewed had an Aboriginal ethnic background.

Table 6.3: Occupations of Australian Tourists I Interviewed - 1997

Occupation	No	% of total
Retired	6	12
Semi-retired/PT	5	10
PT	3	6
Recent graduates	3	6
House-people	1	2
Legal professions	5	10
Administration	7	14
Public services	3	6
Education	1	2
Real estate	2	4
Business/finance	4	8
Personnel/consultancy	3	6
Sales	2	4
Own business	4	8
Research	1	2
Computing	1	2
Total	51	100*

* Numbers do not total 100% because they have been rounded off.

All but three of the tourists I interviewed had booked up their travel arrangements and were to travel throughout 1997. As Table 6.4 demonstrates (and because enquiries usually take place in the quarter preceding travel (In Perspective 1997a,c)), most tourists

[3] No-one mentioned Welsh forbears although one did in interview.

had booked to travel in the year's first quarter (most of the people I interviewed had contacted the BTA in November and December 1996 as opposed to other times throughout the year). People travelling later than the first quarter of 1997 were more likely to contact the BTA for information following November and December 1996[4].

Table 6.4: Quarter of Arrival to the UK of Australian Tourists I interviewed - 1997

Quarter of Arrival	No	% of total
Jan to March	8	17
April to June	36	75
July to September	3	6
October to December	1	2
Total	48	100

As Table 6.5 illustrates, the Australian tourists I worked with intended to travel within the UK for varying periods of time. I found that most of the tourists were intending to spend between 15 and 21 days in the UK, thus corroborating Australians' more general average length of stay in the UK, 20.2 nights which was discussed in Chapter Five (BTA 1997b)[5].

29, or 57% of the Australian tourists I interviewed said that they were travelling to other destinations besides the UK. Many were using the UK as a base for travel into Europe which was frequently referred to as 'the continent' and some were flying 'round the world tickets' and stopping off at places like Bangkok and/or the US before and following their travel to the UK. 27, or 53% said that they had not visited the UK before[6]. Given these characteristics, many of the Australian tourists I interviewed

[4] In Perspective (1997a,c) record how most Australians travel in the third quarter of the year.
[5] In Perspective (1997a,c) also found that of those that had made an enquiry with the BTA in 1996, 33% had planned to visit the UK for three to four weeks.
[6] This figure was significantly more than the 32.4% derived from the total of enquiries made to the BTA in 1996 (In Perspective 1997a).

seemed to have much in common with BTA Sydney's target markets; the Young Working Traveller Extenders, S/Dinks, Empty Nesters and Retired Seniors discussed in Chapter Five.

Table 6.5: Australian Tourists' Intended Length of Stay in the UK - 1997

Days	No	% of total
0 - 7	2	4.2
8 - 14	5	10.5
15 - 21	10	21.0
22 - 28	5	10.5
29 - 35	7	14.5
36 - 41	7	14.5
42 - 48	2	4.2
49 - 55	2	4.2
56+	6	12.5
Total	48	100*

* Numbers do not total 100% because they have been rounded off.

I interviewed three of the 51 Australian tourists again during and following travel to the UK and, an additional nine following their travel to the UK. 44, or 86% of the Australian tourists had been accessed through the BTA and seven, or 14% were tourists I had accessed through friends and acquaintances I made through my land-family[7]. I also interviewed 17, or 33% face to face in their homes or place of work and 34, or 67% on the telephone.

[7] A high proportion of these were practising Christians.

Consuming UK (Tele)Tourism

This part of the chapter presents, discusses and analyzes research I undertook with Australians practising UK tourism. It investigates material derived from the interviews I carried out with tourists before, during and following their UK tourist experience and is complemented by an exploration of tourist travel diaries, tourist records, my own research diary and memories. In so doing, it explores what kinds of television film most significantly inter-connected with Australian tourists' practice of UK tourism, when and where television film inter-connected with Australians' practice of UK tourism and how and why this happened.

Whilst I discussed watching UK film in general with all of the Australian tourists I spoke to[8] [9], most mentioned watching **television film** more specifically during the course of the interview despite the interview schedule depicted in Appendix F and myself inviting conversation relating to all kinds of film depicting the UK; that is, motion picture films, videos, television advertizing, advertizing at the cinema, promotional videos and the variety of other film types screened on television[10] [11]. Their mentioning of television film (and trailers for it) more frequently than other filmic material suggested that it had a more powerful impact and that they preferred to view filmic material at home and as such were distracted by competing claims (discussed in Chapter Two) for their attention (Ellis 1992)[12]. Whilst the television films they mentioned were produced by the BBC,

[8] Although I encouraged tourists to talk about film depicting the UK specifically some did refer to *Ballykissangel* which is actually filmed in Ireland. Ireland was frequently included in conversation about the UK more generally as was on occasion, Europe. Some confused London with England, London and/or England with the UK and some had muddles with Northern Ireland, Ireland, Wales and Scotland.

[9] The tourists referred to here remain anonymous. I do however, make references to their gender, age group, ethnic background (if first generation from a non-UK nation) and, whether they have previously travelled to the UK.

[10] This had important ramifications on this thesis which are discussed in more detail in Chapter One.

[11] In a survey carried out for the BTA, 58% of Australian enquirers had claimed to have seen the UK on the television recently (In Perspective 1997c).

[12] One Australian tourist commented for example that, "no, usually with (television) films I'm reading something and I'm sort of looking up and I don't give my undivided to it ....." (male, 60+, 1st trip). Another remarked on how he did not, "watch very much of the er drama type series cos my wife watches them and I usually hang around, over

independent television networks and production companies, most tourists referred to seeing them on Australia's ABC television network, (a terrestrial channel with no advertizing which was referred to in Chapter Five) which was associated with the BBC, public authority, state and a kind of snob value which some almost boasted about[13]. Most of the tele-filmic material mentioned by tourists was also viewed in the evening and viewed alone or with a partner, family and/or friends (and thus echoing claims made by Chapters Two and Five).

In addition to more general references to documentaries, news bulletins, sports coverage and natural history programmes, Australians specifically mentioned 151 television programmes, two televized advertizements and 51 motion picture films by name during interviews before travel to the UK[14] [15]. A higher proportion of younger people talked about motion picture films whereas a higher proportion of older people talked about news bulletins, current affairs programmes and travel documentaries screened on television thus corroborating the research discussed in Chapter Five. As Table 6.6 demonstrates, *Heartbeat* was the most mentioned filmic material followed by *The Bill* which given the large viewing figures for these two British television dramas which frequently feature in Australia's top ten television programme listings, was not surprising.

The table also shows that nearly all of the top ten most mentioned films were television dramas as opposed to travel shows, advertizements, videos, promotional videos, documentaries, news bulletins and comedy[16]. All of the Australian tourists (except for

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her shoulder, just watching every so often, what's happened now? what's happened now? you know" (male, 51-60, 1st generation - Egypt, 1st trip).

[13] Nadia Negrine (1993) record that 34% of all Australian overseas travellers are regular viewers of ABC TV.

[14] These figures are however approximate as it was sometimes difficult to establish precisely whether a film was in video format and viewed on television or at the cinema.

[15] See also Chapter Seven.

[16] Whilst only *Keeping Up Appearances* features in Table 6.6, Australian tourists (particularly males) did talk about liking British comedy. One told me that he got, "a real tickle out of the English humour, I always have" (male, 60+, 1st trip). Another commented on how, "incredible the English humour is, ...er, oh just their great sense of humour, I mean, it's, it's a bit of a contrast actually because on one hand they can be very stuffy and yet they've got such great humour....." (female, 51-60, travelled previously, 1st generation - Canada). *Keeping Up*

some first generation Australians with a non-UK background) rather like the British population discussed in Chapter Two, demonstrated a very strong liking for television drama which for some was clearly an important part of their lives and thus disputed the research undertaken by Nugent *et al* (1992) and discussed in Chapter Five. One tourist for example, got quite concerned during an interview that she would miss the beginning of one programme and another talked about getting her son to video-tape British shows whilst she was touring in the UK and how much she would miss them[17].

Table 6.6: The 10 (television)films Most Mentioned by Australian Tourists - 1997[18]

Television Programme	No	%	Series	Serial	Movie	Movie on TV
*Heartbeat**	23	22	X			
The Bill	19	18	X			
Braveheart	10	10			X	
All Creatures Great & Small	10	10	X			
*Pride & Prejudice**	10	10		X		
Four Weddings & A Funeral	8	8			X	
*Remains of the Day**	7	7				X
Ballykissangel	5	5	X			
Keeping Up Appearances	5	5	X			
Inspector Morse	5	5	X			
Total	102	100	6	1	2	1

*** See Chapter Seven**

Male tourists demonstrated a strong liking for drama with a criminal theme whereas women demonstrated a liking for television drama more generally and costume dramas

Appearances was mentioned five times and other comedies like *Fawlty Towers*, *The Vicar of Dibley*, *Absolutely Fabulous*, *Rumpole of the Bailey*, *Men Behaving Badly*, *One Foot in the Grave* and *Yes (Prime) Minister* were mentioned more than once.

[17] Another remarked how he and his wife got back to the hotel just in time for his wife to watch *The Bill* whilst travelling in the UK.

[18] A more detailed examination of *Heartbeat*, *Pride & Prejudice* and *Remains of the Day* is included in Chapter Seven.

like *Pride & Prejudice* more specifically. This was frequently commented on by male tourists' talking about their wives' or girlfriends' television viewing preferences. I did find it surprising however, which given Nicklasson's (1996) and In Perspective's (1997c) research together with BTA Sydney's efforts (described in Chapter Five) that very few of the Australian tourists referred to travel shows and/or travel features incorporated within lifestyle programmes, (and when they did, tourists frequently could not name the programme concerned).

The programmes delineated in Table 6.6, (which demonstrate many of the characteristics associated with television drama discussed in Chapter Two[19] (Williams 1990; Ellis 1992)), were popular with the Australian tourists for a variety of reasons. Understanding the language that the programmes were produced in and other cultural similarities with those Australians who had UK background held an obvious attraction. Many also talked about the UK being portrayed realistically and (as anticipated by Chapter Two) validated the British tele-visual filmic material they viewed in terms of how successful it was at (re)producing what they conventionally understood to be reality[20]. Donna Wales (BTA Sydney's Head of Media Relations) also pointed out that,

> "when they actually see a movie or television on Britain, it's for real, it's true, whereas the Americans go completely over the top or it's just so weird and way out. And, there is so much horror and crime in the American movies, I mean that's my own opinion, but it's all done on sets. People know when they go to America that they're going to go around Universal Studios, and see for example, the set of *Jaws* that was supposed to be in the ocean swimming around, Frontier Land or something, or I don't know, whereas in Britain, this is why the *Movie Map* has had so much influence, because they're actually wonderful icons, and attractions that are still there, that the filming was done around....."

[19] All of the television series delineated in Table 6.6 concern themselves with notions of the domestic. They centre their narratives on characters in identifiable domestic settings, situations, encounters and relationships. The programmes are instantly recognizable, highly familiar, the characters in them become like friends and dilemmas are repeated and never resolved. *Ballykissangel* and *Keeping Up Appearances* focus their attentions on everyday life whilst *Heartbeat, The Bill, All Creatures Great & Small* and *Inspector Morse* focus on crime and illness. They are all repeatedly screened and scheduled for transmission to coincide with when people are not working and at home relaxing. They are also communicated in an ordinary and friendly way and provide Australians with an opportunity to experience Britain, the British and British-ness on a virtual journey in the comfort and safety of their own homes accompanied by the television and other viewers of their choice.

[20] Making *Heartbeat* 'realistic' was of much importance to those involved in its production (Phillips *et al* 1999).

British television programmes were described positively as being very realistic and were sometimes compared to American and Australian television in a highly favourable way. One man commented that,

> "it's certainly I think very realistic, unlike the American type movies which is, which is invariably very plastic and clearly unrealistic, I think it's very realistically done, that's what I like about British TV and films, I find them very realistic, very credible, the actual country and countryside....." (male, 41-50, 1st generation - South Africa, travelled previously).

Like MacDonald (1990) and some of the geography teachers referred to by Aitken (1994a), (and discussed in more depth in Chapter Two), television film was described by some as being the next best way of experiencing a culture. Indeed, some felt it was preferable,

> "to travel, I don't need to. And, you become very blasé with TV too cos, if you want to see an area you just go and hire a TV, video and look at it. And you know, they say yes but that's very, you know, you don't experience the actual thing er, I think I've got a fairly vivid imagination" (male, 51-60, 1st generation - Egypt, 1st trip).

However, whilst some clearly accepted what they viewed without question, some were much more aware of how the UK had been highly contrived for their viewing and negotiated what they saw (Hall 1973),

> "it's probably a little, em, a glossy side of it. I expect it to be a lot em more temperate than it is in the pictures because obviously they do it that way, you know, they probably try to pick the best times, so. And I've heard it's a lot dirtier and it's a lot grimier and sort of like more bitter in terms of weather than it appears on the screen because they've got to pick the best time of the year, course. So I'm expecting the worst in that respect but I reckon, I reckon we can live with it" (male, 41-50, 1st trip)[21].

Some even questioned whether they were really viewing the UK,

> "yes, we saw *Emma*, I don't know whether that was filmed in the UK, you can't tell these days whether it's em, hardly whether it's, em, supposed to be, you know, practically any country can be simulated....." (female, 51-60, travelled previously)

[21] Another tourist commented with specific regard to travel documentaries that, "I mean obviously they're not going to show lots of wet weather" (female, 41-50, travelled previously), and another referred to them as, "ads" (female, 31-40, travelled previously).

> "ah, but you're never quite sure where they're filmed anyway, I mean half of it can be filmed in you know, Lithuania because it's cheaper and you'd never know em....." (female, 51-60, travelled previously).

All the television programmes and films listed in Table 6.6 with the exception of *The Bill* and *Keeping Up Appearances* make extensive use of location filming in the UK (or appear to do so as is the case with *Braveheart* which was mainly filmed in Ireland) or Ireland (*Ballykissangel*)[22]. Although *The Bill* was referred to frequently (and often in connection with the depiction of UK places that the tourists did not like), Australian tourists emphasized television(film) that extensively used countryside locations as opposed to city landscapes which suggested that the places depicted in *Heartbeat, Braveheart, All Creatures Great & Small, Pride & Prejudice, Four Weddings & A Funeral, Remains of the Day, Ballykissangel* and *Inspector Morse* were very attractive to them[23]. All furthermore, (like the tourist promotional print discussed in Chapters Three and Five), (re)produce significant cultural meanings, myths and stereotypes about the countryside in a way which corresponds with an Arcadian rurality (Phillips *et al* 1999) Some mentioned the UK being overcast and with particular reference to *The Bill* talked about their dislike of the inner city built environment, "the housing estates that you see on *The Bill* are disgusting", (female, 31-40, travelled previously) and its being grimy and congested. A few others made negative remarks about seeing the UK on the news in connection with the Irish Republican Army (IRA) and bombings and a few that had viewed *In the Name of the Father* (which depicts the story of the wrongful conviction of the 'Guildford Four') referred to the English legal system in a negative way. However, most Australian tourists typically felt that the UK came across very attractively to them

[22] One tourist referred to a time when British drama was mainly produced within the studio and observed a move in the 1980's to the production of television films on location (5, p15 - female, 41-50, travelled previously).

[23] Giddens (1978) describes how the British regard themselves as rural people and explains that it is their rural nostalgia which makes television films such as *Emmerdale, A Horseman Riding By* and *All Creatures Great and Small* so attractive to them.

in television film and used words like "quaint", "eccentric", "pretty", "old", "wonderful" and "beautiful" when describing it[24].

All of the television films listed in Table 6.6 have a very strong British house style (Ellis 1992) which reflects and (re)produces a culture, shared meanings, understandings and interpretations about the UK and people who reside there. Whilst much of the meaning (re)produced in these television programmes and films is intentionally encoded to fulfil a variety of production criteria, much meaning situated in powerful discourses is (re)produced in an intentional way and derives from the processes associated with its production (see Chapter Two). In order to examine how the culture (re)produced by these programmes became incorporated into the Australian tourists' everyday lives, the next parts of this chapter focus on how television film inter-connected with Australians' practice of tourism before, during and following their travel to the UK.

Inter-Connecting Television Film with Australian Tourists Before Travel to the UK

The research I undertook with Australian tourists generated a vast amount of rich material and data which related to watching television and film, undertaking tourism and a variety of other cultural practices. The next three parts of the chapter however, concern themselves with material and data relating to Australian tourists' exposure to television and film depicting the UK and its inter-connections with their practice of UK tourism. The analysis reveals strong generic themes and highlights differences and similarities in relation to gender, age, ethnic background and previous travel experience to the UK. This part of the chapter however, focuses more specifically on the inter-connections between television film and; Australian tourists' imagined geographies of the UK (and their sources), travel motivation, information about the UK and its people, travel itineraries and pleasure.

[24] Some of the Australian tourists talked about being very aware of the UK as a place in television film, "we're always very conscious of the background" (female, 41-50, travelled previously), whereas some were not

All of the Australian tourists I interviewed had an imagined geography of the UK which they were able to describe to me in varying levels of detail. What was most striking about these imagined geographies were their similarity. Women and men of all ages and ethnic backgrounds tended to refer to similar images and use the same nouns and adjectives when describing them. However, I did find that women found it easier to describe their imagined geography of the UK. Many of the men for example, tended to emphasize the rational and related facts or stressed what they had done in the UK if they had travelled there before as opposed to describing an imagined geography in the way suggested by Alcoff (1996). And, although tourists that had previously travelled to the UK were sometimes more detailed about specific places they had toured to in their descriptions, I was also struck by the similarities between imagined geographies related by those that had travelled to the UK and those that had not.

Australian tourists' imagined geographies of the UK were extremely attractive, had much in common with their descriptions of how the UK came across on television and typically constituted the iconography of BTA promotional practice (described in Chapter Five); beautiful green countryside (which was often described as gentle or soft) with dry stone walls, hedgerows, rolling hills, castles, stately homes and estates, picturesque villages, thatched housing, old pubs, crooked cottages, churches, old architecture and bed & breakfasts. The icons also correlated with two types of countryside; that which was inhabited by the aristocracy and the wealthy and, that which was inhabited by ordinary folk. Adjectives used to describe these imagined geographies of the UK included, "little", "beautiful", "incredible", "lovely", "magnificent", "quaint", "ancient", "delicious" and "gorgeous". Some however did refer to the UK as being cold, wet, overcast, grey, damp and rainy[25]. Many also described the UK very favourably in comparison with Australia. People often referred to the UK as a place which was soft and gentle as

as aware, "I'm sure I have but I can't recall them at the..... I'm really, when I'm watching a movie, concentrating on the plot to notice the background" (female, 21-30, 1st generation - Greece, 1st trip).

[25] Many surveys record how the UK weather is a significant negative element for Australians travelling to the UK (Nadia Negrine 1993; Gardner Smith Associates 1995; Nicklasson 1996). Other surveys also refer to cost, the time involved in travelling to the UK and food (In Perspective 1997c,d).

opposed to hard, comfortable as opposed to threatening[26], green as opposed to brown and old as opposed to new. These differences seemed to make the UK very attractive for Australian tourists[27].

Whilst most described an imagined geography of countryside, some did refer to the city and more specifically London which was often described as a separate entity. One woman commented rather typically that, "I think of London and then I'd think of the rest of the UK, because I think London's so different." (female, 31-40, travelled previously). Cities were described positively as being modern, industrial, fast, busy, active, exciting, cosmopolitan, vibrant and full of night-life, shopping and fashion, and, negatively as, expensive, dirty and congested[28].

The Australian tourists found it quite easy to discuss what the sources were for their imagined geographies and included, reading poetry, newspapers and magazines, looking at photographs, pictures and postcards, reading letters from relatives travelling there, talking to friends and relatives who had lived and/or travelled there and looking at travel guides, tourist brochures, BTA print and television and film. Older people tended to emphasize reading, (more men than women talked about reading books more generally) and studying about the UK at school whilst younger people emphasized watching television and film. Many women (and older people more generally) that had visited the UK before talked about how their previous travel was an important source for their imagined geography of the UK. One tourist for example talked about how the imagery and information they had directly experienced whilst touring the UK preceded existing imagined geographies of places and people in the UK. The imagined geographies described to me by Australian tourists therefore clearly corroborated Zonn's (1984) hypothesis that images of places more removed from the ordinary are more likely to be created by an indirect means. The imagined geographies furthermore clearly derived

[26] One tourist talked about how she found Australia's desert and bush to be threatening.
[27] Nicklasson (1996) found that the Australians of her research travelled to the UK, "to see something totally different from Australia" (p61).
[28] Whilst few of the tourists included people in their imagined geographies, when they were referred to they were described as hospitable, friendly, culturally diverse and not so dissimilar to Australians.

more from organic as opposed to induced sources thus supporting the idea that organic imagery exerts a stronger influence over the creation of imagined geographies of place than the induced imagery of brochures, advertizing and other promotional practice (Gunn 1972) (discussed in Chapter Three).

The most mentioned source (even with those that had travelled to the UK on a previous occasion) however, was television film and more specifically television programmes televized on the ABC network[29]. One man described how,

> "there's a picture in one's mind that's created through watching, I suppose, television and sometimes listening to radio. I must admit I don't listen to the BBC at all, but I listen to its equivalent over here - you know, the ABC and of course, you know, that's very similar to the BBC1 I suppose." (male, 51-60, 1st trip).

Television film was referred to as a background influence which had been with Australian tourists since their youth, "even as a child we used to see movies on TV that showed England, I think it just gets you pulled in at an early age....." (female, 31-40, 1st generation - Greece, 1st trip). Actually seeing the UK on television film (as opposed to experiencing it with other senses) was very important,

> "yes, otherwise you don't know, you know, you hear names and they all sound great, but unless you can see it and see it for yourself that it is beautiful, then you say 'yes - I'd like to go there'..... To *see it* is very important, cause you can see then what it's like" (female, 51-60, 1st generation - Poland, travelled previously).

It also seemed to make it more real for some, "I mean we're just going to believe that there is a place over there called England, I've never been there, but the films sort of make it more real, you know?" (female, 60+, 1st trip).

Despite the scepticism revealed earlier, (rather like the geographers mentioned earlier here and in Chapter Two) tourists described how watching television film depicting the

[29] Whilst most talked about the television drama discussed earlier, some also mentioned news bulletins and sporting events. One man commented that, "I think we see a lot of it (the UK) on the news, and we've been looking at great cricket grounds on the television for donkey's years and we watch test matches, you know the great

UK was more real to them than their experience of other representational forms of the UK and how it was the next best thing to actually being there. As such, television film was frequently referred to as being the most powerful source of tourists' imagined geographies. One woman said that,

> "because otherwise you wouldn't know, you know just from hearing it, or reading it, hearing about it or reading about it, you don't, you can't really picture it as much as seeing pictures or images in film" (female, 21-30, 1st generation - Portugal, 1st trip).

Australian tourists explained that they were to travel to the UK for a variety of reasons. Some with a very recent British heritage talked about travelling to the UK for VFR purposes, some of these again and others with a more extended British heritage talked about 'going home' and wanting to visit places in association with their ancestors. Even the younger people seemed to have a strong drive to touch base with where their family had come from in order to achieve a better understanding of who they were (Greenlees 1996). Travel to the UK thus seemed to constitute an essential criterion for achieving self-fulfilment (Huggan 1993). Others talked about experiencing history and some talked about the experiencing the history of their country, Australia. Many of the middle aged tourists (41-50) wanted to travel to the UK because it was the first time in their lives that they had been afforded the opportunity to fulfil an often life time's ambition, whereas older tourists, (51-60, 60+) described how they wanted to visit whilst they were still able enough to do so. Many said that they were using the UK as a base for European travel[30], some wanted to shop there, two had won competitions to go there and some had to attend events like weddings. Four male tourists said they were going to please their wives, one man for example talked about, "the will to do good in the married circumstance" (male, 31-40, 1st trip)[31]. Many of those that had already travelled to the UK described how their travel to the UK had been so good before that they wanted to experience more, some wanted to see what they had missed previously, some wanted to show the UK to

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rugby holy sites, Twickenham, and Cardiff Arms Park, Murray Field and those places," (male, 51-60, travelled previously).

[30] See Nicklasson (1996).

[31] Three people in the 21-30 age range talked about travelling to the UK to look for work and two in the 31-40 age category described how they were travelling for business.

others and some wanted to revisit friends there. Despite one Australian tourist saying that British television had had a big and obvious impact on a previous trip to the UK, most however did not think watching television film depicting the UK was the main reason they were travelling to the UK when specifically asked.

Following the reservation of their travel to the UK, Australian tourists talked about a variety of different sources that they used for information to find out more about the UK. Given that most of the tourists I worked with were accessed through the BTA it was not surprising to find that most talked about information from the BTA most of all. People also however, talked about reading guide books (The *Eye-Witness* guide was mentioned on a few occasions), older people talked about reading travel sections of newspapers (41-50, 51-60, 60+) and library books (51-60, 60+), others talked about looking at travel brochures, consulting travel agents and BTA information staff, studying maps, talking to friends who had travelled to the UK, (more men than women mentioned friends) and looking at photographs, promotional videos and one woman (21-30) talked about using the internet. The imagery and editorial they encountered (which included some of the promotional print I analyzed in Chapter Five) was described as being very attractive, rather idealized and as one man put it, "the sort of thing that tugs at tourists' heart-strings" (male, 51-60, 1st generation - Hungary, travelled previously)[32]. I was surprised given the effort involved in its production, (discussed in Chapters Two and Five), that only two tourists mentioned the *Movie Map* (Liddall 1996a)[33].

None of the tourists felt that the information they came into contact with altered their imagined geographies of the UK. They were all rather unanimous in their feeling that the information they encountered reinforced, confirmed, sustained and clarified their imagined geographies.

[32] and another, "the things you see in movies," (male, 51-60, 1st generation - Egypt, 1st trip).
[33] Both of these tourists said that they would not specifically visit the places indicated on the map but would possibly make a detour if they found themselves to be in their vicinity.

> "I think it's (information) probably made me a little more keen once I'd got the idea in my head. Like, almost like a reinforcement - because once the idea's in there and you keep seeing things, because once the idea's there you start to notice things like that - like when you want to buy a certain car you'll see on the road everywhere - so, I guess it's a reinforcement and so that was encouraging" (female, 21-30, travelled previously).

Collecting information in this way seemed to also reinforce Australian tourists' need, want and enthusiasm for travelling to the UK. One tourist even avoided looking at information, "I'm trying not to think about it too much because I get too excited and I can't get to sleep....." (female, 51-60, 1st generation - Canada, travelled previously).

Despite Butler's (1990) observation that people are placing less importance on reading as a form of getting information about places and relying more on visual forms of information, and in particular television, only some of the Australian tourists talked about television being a source of information for their tourism to the UK. However, in respect of travel shows one woman said that,

> "I can think of something I saw recently. It was late last year, I think, or sometime afterwards, it was when the *Getaway* shows did a UK special. And he did a walk - the guy, I think he was actually Welsh originally - but one of the fellows in the journalist team is from the UK and he did a walk from one side of England to the other where he started in the Lakes and ended up in the Yorkshire Dales, just sensational. I never knew that people did that sort of thing - And so many are probably more inclined to find out information about areas where I didn't realise there would be a lot of information. For example, he highlighted tour operators offering really flexible and interesting services if you wanted to do this walk or if you wanted to cycle instead and to get your stuff from A to B, and that sort of thing. So it's not the traditional jump on the coach tour for two or five days or whatever, it's quite different. So because of some things I saw on that show I'd probably be more inclined to find out more about different areas" (female, 31-40, travelled previously).

Some also described how they made a conscious effort to watch television depicting the UK once they had reserved their travel to the UK. One man commented that,

> "oh we see films on TV and you sort of, when you're watching a film even though they're not pushing a place you know you're seeing different parts of England and that's quite interesting. And, I suppose we've had this planned for about 12 months, so each time you see a part of, a part of England, we say we might be seeing that when we go over there, and there's nothing like seeing it in the real live flesh" (female, 60+, 1st trip).

Another man talked about how seeing places on television film that he was to visit made him feel excited,

> "yea it sort of gives you, because you get to see some of the landscape in the film em, so that's interesting to see that and ....Yea, and it's also interesting because of er, I guess seeing an historical presentation seeing that after reading, sort of getting a picture about what it was like ....." (male, 31-40, 1st trip).

Like other forms of information, tourists talked about how television film similarly reinforced their imagined geographies rather than altered them in ways reminiscent of Zonn's (1984) research on transactional theory where people's understanding of landscape continually changes (discussed in Chapter Two).

Australian tourists anticipated that the most important places they wanted to visit and the most important things they wanted to do typically related to history and picturesque scenery[34] [35]. They seemed to want to collect (one tourist specifically referred to collecting sites in London on photographic film) the places and people of their imagined geographies of the UK[36]. Many thus talked about visiting the Cotswolds and the Lake District (which was always referred to as the *Lakes* District), the Yorkshire Moors and Dales in order to experience and corroborate the natural beauty and picturesque scenery of their imagined geographies. Many also talked about visiting places associated with historical events and impressive old architecture like Oxford, Cambridge, Bath and Edinburgh and seeking out castles, cathedrals, churches, palaces, country houses and gardens. Some older tourists (51-60, 60+) also wanted to visit tourist attractions with royal connections. Many woman talked about wanting to shop[37] and visiting tourist attractions in London like, The Tower of London and Madame Tussauds. Those with a UK ancestry wanted to see quite specific sites like places from whence their forbears originated and to visit friends and relatives, whereas first generation Australians with a

[34] Gardner Smith Associates (1995) discuss a survey undertaken by BOAC in 1970 where beautiful/scenic countryside and history/historical places were ranked 1st by 43% and 2nd by 36% of respondents respectively as the most attractive aspects of a visit to Britain. In Perspective (1997a) find that historic sights/attractions and countryside are ranked 1st and 2nd by Australian tourists in terms of all UK attractions.

[35] In order to see and do what they wanted, most of the Australian tourists talked about wanting to hire a car as opposed to undertaking an organized tour of the UK.

[36] See In Perspective (1997d).

[37] Harrods was mentioned several times.

non-UK background demonstrated a preference to visit cities and London more specifically.

Some Australian tourists talked about how television film depicting the UK prompted the kind of places they most wanted to visit. One woman for example, talked about wanting to see the kind of countryside and big houses depicted in two Jane Austen film adaptations,

> "yes I suppose I want to desperately to go..... well I suppose we'll certainly go to some of the beautiful. Oh, that's another fabulous show that depicted England was the *Pride & Prejudice* show..... there's no doubt that some of those great big houses are still the same today....." (female, 51-60, 1st trip).

Television film also prompted more specific places to visit. One woman's motivation to travel to Nottingham was entirely motivated by her viewing a variety of Robin Hood films as a child. She also wanted to visit and stay in Goathland, the location for *Heartbeat,* "yea..... I watch *Heartbeat* on Saturday night, I'm a big fan of that, so we want to em, go and see that place.....yea Goathland and just stay in a hotel there if we can" (female, 41-50, 1st trip). One man also described how,

> "well, what, we'll, we'll go to the Isle of Skye and we'll go to through Kyle of Lochalsh and we will drive through the Yorkshire Dales through Whitby on our way to Scotland, we'll leave the main road and just go up through there..... Well *Heartbeat*'s filmed around Whitby and Hamish MacBeth is filmed around the Kyle of Lochalsh. We'll go through Bath, with its connections with some of those period movies" (male, 41-50, 1st trip).

A few talked about how travel programmes had given them ideas on how to tour the UK. A travel programme prompted one man to want to travel to Bath,

> "yea, there was actually em, I think it was on the *Today Show* not that long ago they had a big thing er, where they were all, I think they were actually in Bath, and they were doing a lot of their stories from there and what not and that seemed really nice..... So I would certainly like to spend some time there" (male, 21-30, 1st generation - Germany/Israel, travelled previously).

One woman remarked that,

> "I said to him that I would like to go through all the back roads to see the country - and that mainly came from a television programme, because we saw the UK and she did all the back roads and said you passed incredible little villages ..... You know, and on another programme, either one of those two again - there was again. You know, the back roads are the best roads to go on, don't go on.....cause that way you see and you meet lovely people..... (female, 51-60, 1st generation - Poland, travelled previously).

Watching television film depicting the UK therefore clearly had a significant inter-connection with Australian tourists' practice of tourism to the UK. Whilst it has been revealed that television film was not a motivator for Australians' travel to the UK, it importantly contributed to their imagined geographies of the place. It also informed Australian tourists about the UK and its people and had an impact on their anticipated itineraries. As such, and following from Urry (1990a) and others discussed in Chapter Three, television film importantly played an unwitting but powerful rôle in a tourism hermeneutic circuit where the embodied gaze is anticipated and mobilized. In order to discover whether these anticipations were realized, the next part of the chapter examines material relating to Australians' travel within the UK.

Inter-Connecting Television Film with Australian Tourists During Their Travel in the UK

It is because of the reasons described in Chapter Four that I was only able to undertake research with three tourists whilst they were actually touring the UK. Two of the tourists were men and one was a woman, they were all between 41 and 50 years of age, all undertaking their first trip to the UK and all had a UK ancestry which dated back many generations. This part of the chapter however additionally analyzes research which relates to what other Australian tourists said about their previous travel to the UK in the interviews I undertook with them before travel and focuses on their imagined geographies of the UK whilst there, the mapping of their imagined geographies onto their experienced ones, (and the differences and similarities afforded), the highlights of their tour, influences on their tour itineraries, the inter-connection between television

film and their practice of UK tourism and how they thought the tour would impact on their lives back in Australia.

All three tourists described how their experienced geography of the UK was very much as they expected it to be. One man told me how,

> "the vast majority is as we imagined..... em yea you stand on Culloden Moor and it is as you imagine it and then you're maybe down in Devon and Cornwall and they are as the pictures show and the postcards, and we went across the North Yorkshire Moors and it is as you see it in the literature" (male, 41-50, 1st trip).

The other Australian tourists too, echoed Goss (1993) and others' work (discussed in more depth in Chapter Three) when describing how their expectations of the UK (established before travel) were realized when experiencing the UK. One woman commented, "um - I don't know that it was that different from what I thought..... (female, 21-30, travelled previously) and another said that, "I have to say it all turned out to be very much as I would imagined it to be" (female, 60+, travelled previously). As such, the tourists' imagined geographies of the UK were very similar to those related to me before travel and seemed to have altered little despite their direct experience of the place. Their experience furthermore was evidence of the hermeneutic circle which links representations of tourist destinations to destination development and tourists' experience of it. However, their imagined geographies, did become more detailed with regard to the specific places they visited. The first man I interviewed pre and during travel described the UK as a series of towns and cites interspersed with open tracts of country. His description however during travel was more positive and included the words "good", "wonderful" and "great". He also included people in this description and described them as being friendly in Scotland and not so in the south of England (the woman also found the Scottish more amiable than the English). The woman similarly found the UK to be as green, as historical and as peopled as she had expected but much better more generally[38]. The other man I interviewed before travel had proffered a very factual imagined geography of the UK which made reference to gross domestic product

[38] She also found her previous apprehensions relating to travelling on the London underground, unfounded.

and population figures, economic history and so on. Like the other man, he similarly described the UK as a highly urbanized nation interspersed with green fields. His imagined geography related to me during travel was very similar but (as a town planner) emphasized the built environment. He commented that, "one didn't have the same feeling of er ah, a continuous conurbation as you have in Australia, particularly on the East Coast" (male, 51-60, 1st trip). He was also struck by the small size of houses and land British people were prepared to live in and was disappointed by the proliferation of tourists at each of the places he had visited (Cater 1995).

> "I've never seen so many tourists anywhere.....there's no doubt about it and just the hordes and, hordes of people in every city we visited all, and primarily it is a perception of tourists, it's not of locals but of tourists.....every second person had a camera or money bag, you can tell, they were primarily tourists....." (male, 41-50, 1st trip).

A few of the other Australian tourists also experienced some surprises and disappointments when mapping their imagined geographies of the UK onto their experienced geographies. One woman commented on how her and her husband had been surprised by how many people of colour lived in the UK, "you imagine England as the typical white Anglo-Saxon country" (female, 41-50, travelled previously)[39]. Others commented that they found the scenery to be even more beautiful than they had expected, some mentioned how it was less congested than they had expected, (a few had mentioned when describing the UK that they thought it would be congested given the population figures and size of the country in comparison to Australia[40]) and another commented on the beauty of the gardens and being more aware of the change of seasons.

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[39] I was appalled by one tourist's comment, "This might sound a bit racist..... there used to be around Paddington area, 'cause I know that area, Bayswater area, I know it like the back of my hand. And there used to be a little fish and chip shop there and there's nothing like, you know, Pom fish and chips, and it's got a Union Jack painted in the front of it. And this last time I said gosh, really I must have some of that, you know - I'd been out all day, I'd had a very large breakfast. All day, no lunch, no nothing. I'd been shopping, I thought, 'I can't wait', I walked in and there's standing behind the counter (laughs) and I don't want him to be, I've got nothing against them, I don't want him there, I want this Brit behind the counter - right? Because that's part of the image, you know, and I thought it was terrible, I threw it away" (female, 31-40, travelled previously).

[40] Given that Australia covers an area of 7 682 300 km² and has a population of 18 054 000 (ABS 1996c), its population per km² is very low at approximately 2 people per km² compared with the UK which covers an area of 244 755 km², has a population of 57 411 000 and therefore a population of 235 people per km² (Bartholomew 1995).

The three tourists were undertaking the itineraries that they had previously described. One of the men and the woman undertook organized coach tours to Scotland through the UK. They also had some time of their own in London from where they undertook day-trips. The other man toured from Cambridge to London, the West Country and Scotland with his wife in an hired car. Before travel, he had said that the most important places he had wanted to see and the most important things he had wanted to do related to seeing his daughter and her family in Cambridge, seeing places in Scotland from where his wife's ancestors came from, royal events and places associated with history. Seeing Cliff Richard had been the most important thing to do for the woman followed by seeing historical buildings and having fish and chips at Blackpool. The other man had wanted to visit towns in the north of England associated with his ancestry and London.

Whilst the countryside was more generally acknowledged to be very attractive, the places which held the most significance for two of the tourists were those of historical and architectural significance (and as Chapter Five revealed were typical of Australians touring the UK more generally). They both derived much pleasure from their experience of an old built environment not available in their own country. The woman described how Bath, Chester, Edinburgh and London stood out for her. She described how she felt when she experienced them,

> "oh excited, yes, you know we're actually here, and you know when you go to an older place with older architecture is that more, yes you're thinking all the history and thinking this happened here and that you know it's quite amazing I think, you know it's just 100's and 100's of years old, the houses are just so young back home" (female, 41-50, 1st trip).

One of the men commented that,

> "I think the component of it that most appealed was, it's er, historic background. To those cities er, the character, the feeling when you're in the, er, what was er, er, the components of the cities that were hundreds and hundreds of years old er, er, one got a feeling of how the lifestyle of the people er, er, during that period of time. It absolutely amazed me when you think of Australia, first occupied by Europeans in 1788, er whereas we're looking at cities and areas that were established 1000 years ago," (male, 51-60, 1st trip).

As expected, the man travelling independently with his wife did indeed find that Cambridge (other Australian tourists too emphasized VFR as a key influence on their travel within the UK) and places in Scotland were the most important for him to visit. He however (as an ex-military man) was most moved by the splendour and precision of the Trooping of the Colour and also became quite excited when talking about the bargains that could be had in Bicester Village, (a shopping mall), a place that his wife had particularly wanted to travel to.

The tourists who undertook organized tours of the UK felt that the tours themselves had been the main influence on their travel and expressed a disappointment and frustration at not being able to spend more time in places that they wanted to and not being able to interact with British people other than those employed by the tourism industry. They thus talked about how they would hire a car and travel independently when they visited the UK in the future. The woman did indeed manage to meet (and touch!) Cliff Richard at a tennis match in London. She however had been disappointed with her fish and chips at Blackpool and more generally with the way chips were served with much of what she ate. The man did not talk about travelling to the towns associated with his ancestry but rather emphasised towns' with distinguished old architecture like Oxford, Edinburgh, Bath, Chester and York.

Both the man and the woman on the organized tour were not aware of television film consciously inter-connecting with their practice of travel in the UK at all. The other man however, described how television film had influenced his travel and recorded in his diary how he travelled to Whitby and Goathland in order for his wife to see the locations of her favourite programme. In his case, television film seemed to validate what was worthy of viewing and to act as a kind of arbitrator in the way suggested by Goss (1993) and Crang (1996). He commented that,

> "oh yes, (television programmes) they definitely do (influence) wherever you end up. But, I, we don't actually say well we're going to visit Great Britain, so we'll go and find out all these films and go to them specifically. You see them and you just store it away and remember them, I mean we didn't go and, we don't watch *Pride & Prejudice* because we're going to England, we watch it because we enjoy it." (male, 51-60, 1st trip).

Television film also impacted on the other Australian tourists' previous tours to the UK. Two women for example talked about reliving scenes from television and motion picture films. One had to travel to Lyme Regis, the location for *The French Lieutenant's Woman* and actually walked out to the end to the Cobb to relive one of the film's most enigmatic scenes. Another talked about,

> "the countryside, and the Yorkshire Dales, having grown up watching James Herriot's *All Creatures Great & Small* and ..... ah, yea, you could just imagine him coming along in his old car any minute..... I can't describe why I liked that, but I did (laughter)....." (female, 21-30, travelled previously).

A man also talked about the great sense of pleasure he experienced seeing places he recognized from television film,

> "oh, I guess, just pleasure in recognizing something that is familiar to you and er, something particularly if you come across it by surprise, which can happen" (male, 60+, travelled previously).

Another described the sense of familiarity she experienced when encountering places she had already seen on television,

> "I suppose when we were driving through the countryside, through particularly the little narrow sort of B roads with the high hedges and things like that, that, you felt very much that you'd sort of seen that sort of thing before in series, like *Brideshead Revisited* the little narrow streets and things, and that it was more a feeling of déjà vu rather than, I was not aware that it had created a picture, it was more that when I was there I realised it was familiar, yea" (female, 31-40, travelled previously).

All of the three tourists found it more difficult to describe how their travel would impact on their lives back home in Australia. The man travelling independently felt it would make no difference what so ever. The woman however, remarked on how she had enjoyed looking at both public and private gardens and how she would like to grow

flowers outside her house in hanging baskets and make her garden more attractive. The other man talked about how he had been encouraged to undertake more travel in general and how he intended to be more frugal in order to finance it in the future!

Inter-Connecting Television Film with Australian Tourists Following Travel

This next part of the chapter discusses the interviews I undertook with the same three tourists following their travel to the UK. It also discusses research I undertook with nine other Australian tourists following travel to the UK. Four of these tourists were men and five were women, five were 31-40 years of age, one was 41-50 and three were 51-60, five were first generation Australians with a non-UK ethnic background (Hungarian, Spanish, Polish, French/Spanish and Malaysian) and four had not travelled to the UK before. Most undertook tours which began and ended in London and typically constituted a journey to Glasgow and Edinburgh in Scotland (and, sometimes further north) on the west side of England via places like Windsor, Oxford, The Cotswolds, Stratford upon Avon, Yorkshire and The *Lakes* District, with detours into Wales and sometimes Ireland. They usually travelled back to London on the east side of England with perhaps the odd sortie to places like Durham, York and Cambridge[41]. Like the first part of the chapter, this part focuses on Australian tourists' imagined geographies of the UK following travel, the mapping of their imagined geographies onto their experienced ones, (and the differences and similarities afforded), the highlights of their tour, influences on their tour itineraries, the inter-connection between television film and their practice of UK tourism and how their tourism has impacted on their lives back in Australia.

Whilst the first three Australian tourists' imagined geographies of the UK were very similar to those related to me before and during travel, they were all more much richer in detail, especially in regard to the places they had visited. The woman's imagined

[41] Some talked about being dissuaded to visit Northern Ireland because of the violence there which they learned about from television news and a recent televized screening of the film, *In the Name of the Father*

geography following travel was described with much enthusiasm and with far more detail. The UK for her had turned out to be so much better than she had thought it would be. Her rolling green countryside now incorporated "little" cottages and "little" villages. She also talked about flowers and described the weather as being wonderful with a blue sky[42]. In contrast to her imagined geography of cities before travel (which she had described as being grimy and congested), she talked about cities and London more specifically as being very exciting. She said that she had been surprised with the open space in and out of London and the prettiness of the flowers, gardens and the stunning beauty of the countryside (the *Lakes* District in particular). The other man's (who had travelled on an organized tour) imagined geography remained replete with facts and experiences rather than images. He however, described again how he had found the cities to be exciting, how he had been very impressed with the public transportation system in London and the efforts made to preserve the old built environment. He had found the countryside to be interesting and quaint and liked the thatched roofing of some of the cottages. He also stressed how he had found the urban environment to be more dense and the rural environment to be more vast than he had thought. Two of the three however described being disappointed with Glasgow. One commented how, "I thought it would be prettier, it was just so grey and dull, there's nothing special about Glasgow" (female, 41-50, 1st trip).

The UK was also described as being very much as expected by the nine tourists I interviewed following travel to the UK although many felt it was much more attractive than they had thought it would be. One man who had travelled to the UK on many occasions talked about being less excited by London as he had visited it so many times but how new places like Edinburgh and Dublin had been very enjoyable and stimulating. The UK was described as being very much the stuff of their original imagined geographies of place and much enjoyment was derived from collecting people and places which corroborated this imagery. Women in particular, were more enthusiastic than men

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just prior to my programme of interviews with Australians (in Australia). See Wilson (1993) on the image of Northern Ireland since the Troubles in relation to tourism.

when describing the UK. As such, the UK continued to sustain its reputation as being, "one of the most beautiful countries in the world" (female, 51-60, 1st generation - Poland, 1st trip). The colour green was mentioned by quite a few of the tourists and adjectives included, "incredible", "beautiful" and "interesting". The cities were described as up-beat, the people as friendly, the public transport systems as good and the history as interesting. Most had rather atypically experienced the UK in the best of climatic conditions and thus talked about the weather being better than they had thought[43]. The UK was more typically described as being comfortable, familiar and for those with a British ancestry, a home. One man said that, "we immediately felt at home, ... everything about the place..... and it's almost as if for a long time we'd lived in the gate keeper's cottage on the edge of a large estate....." (male, 51-60, travelled previously)[44].

People's experienced geographies of the place were affected by weather, the people they encountered, their experience of different places and their experience of the tourism system. What was different about their geographies following travel to the UK, was the inclusion of remarks relating to the UK as a place to undertake tourism. Although one man (who associated holidays with swimming pools and beer) talked about tolerating his visit to the UK and travelling there with the sole purpose of pleasing his wife, most of the tourists described the UK as a good place to visit with lots of things to see and do. Others also commented on how short the journey times were between one site and another.

Experiencing people and places that did not correspond with people's imagined geographies of the UK afforded the most disappointment. Negative comments included those relating to traffic jams, fast town and motor-way driving, other tourists and

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[42] One man however talked about not wanting to live in the UK and his dislike for the extremes in the weather.

[43] However, one tourist recorded in his diary that he had to buy a jacket and jumper on his second day in the UK because it was the coldest he had ever been! Another diarist recorded having to buy gloves for her moaning husband!

[44] The UK was perhaps comfortable for non-indigenous Australians because its history was seen to be easier and less problematic than that of Australia.

products and services being more expensive than tourists had anticipated[45]. One woman (first generation - Spain, white) described being disappointed by the racism that she felt her Malaysian husband (first generation, black) was afforded. Some of the tourists talked about not liking the cities they visited which included London and Birmingham and their being dirty, congested and expensive. Some also talked about not liking the modern architecture. One man talked another being disappointed with the Thames,

> "yes cos it's dirty, but there's so much history running off the Thames and you've got these new state of the art bloody buildings being erected which takes a lot of the historical features away from it, you know. And besides that, there was still other stuff that's great but I mean it's a shame they let them build these new buildings" (male, 41-50, 1st trip).

The highlight of the woman's tour (the woman who had travelled on an organized tour) was meeting, touching and photographing Cliff Richard at a tennis tournament and visiting Weybridge, Cliff Richard's home and having herself photographed and permanently captured outside it (Crang 1996)[46] [47]. She also enjoyed the beauty of Tenby, Wales and the historical architecture of Chester, York, and Edinburgh. The highlight for the man was not being constrained by the coach tour and his ten days 'off' in London. He also enjoyed the rich heritage and history of the buildings and having been brought up to think that anything English was "A1", he described how important it had been for him to experience what he described as being the icons of England; Piccadilly Circus, Trafalgar Square, the Tower of London, the Thames and Buckingham Palace. He described how,

> "recognition and excitement having regard to the knowledge that you already had er reinforcement I guess, and I suppose one derives a pleasure out of reinforcement in terms of the knowledge that you have, I know that's a funny statement but that's how I feel" (male, 51-60, 1st trip)

[45] Two made negative comments about Harrods. One woman was amazed at being charged to visit the lavatory and another was annoyed at being told to leave his bag in the cloak room and having to pay for this.

[46] The woman has had her photographs together with her story about meeting Cliff Richard published in Australia's Cliff Richard movement's magazine.

[47] See also Chapter Three's discussion of tourist photography.

The woman too felt that it,

> "oh, that was so special to actually be there, to know I was in London, even just looking out the window coming in, oh, that was so exciting, em, to actually be in London" (female, 41-50, 1st trip).

The other tourists described how places of historical and architectural importance and visual beauty which included Edinburgh, Oxford, Durham, London, The Cotswolds, The "*Lakes*" District, York, Stirling, Stratford upon Avon and Chester were the places which were the most important for them to visit. Men seemed to show a preference for cities and towns whereas women talked about enjoying the countryside more. Experiencing these places was described as being "exciting", "interesting", "amazing", "wonderful", "fabulous" and "great" although I found that Australians with a non-UK background did not have the same kind of interest in UK history as those whose ancestry was British. One man talked about the joy of reliving what he had learnt in history and geography at school. Another tourist commented that,

> "you know when you think, you're walking around some of those areas and some with cobbled streets and that, then you're walking in areas that were built on way back before Australia was discovered by white man, it just makes you realize, just how long things have been going before, anybody in Australia was aware and em" (female, 51-60, 1st trip).

The tourists were influenced by a number of stimuli whilst touring the UK which included maps, whether castles were situated in the area, people's recommendations (including my own), guide books (*Lonely Planet*), restaurant listings, previous memories, places where ancestors had lived, where they had been before, (if they had travelled to the UK previously) and television/film locations. Whilst those with a non-UK ancestry seemed less interested, some of the tourists (mainly women or men prompted by their wives) I spoke to described how they specifically sought out television film and motion picture film locations. Two travelled to Stirling prompted by *Braveheart* (which as this chapter revealed earlier, was actually produced in Ireland) and talked about the feeling of romance they experienced there. Another tourist talked about how,

> "we had to stay at Whitby for the wife's sake, cos that's where they do *Heartbeat*, and we had to stay at another place in em Ireland I think it was Wicklow, somewhere in Ireland, but no, that's where they film *Ballykissangel*" (male, 41-50, 1st trip)

In his diary this same tourist described how much he loved the scenery of Goathland and how he went to the Goathland Hotel there (and the main one used in the series) for a cup of coffee[48]. He also described how he and his wife actually got to see a film crew filming *Ballykissangel*,

> "yea, well I didn't get out of the car, they were filming the day we went there..... Yea and the wife got out and I just said, 'go and walk up and take your photo, they can only tell you to stop taking them'. So she went up and took some photos of the and em, that was good, I'm not into it, so I just stayed in the car. I couldn't get out of the car anyway where I was parked, but em she was happy, she saw what she wanted to see" (male, 41-50, 1st trip).

Another tourist described how she made a detour from her main tour route once in the area of a television location,

> "oh well, we were in that direction and so we said, 'well this is *Heartbeat* "Country", so we would go down there, we just detoured off and the, actually it was very wet and cold. We then actually went down into where the train was which was a bit further on, Northeast of Goathland and em a train was coming in. We watched *Heartbeat* two weeks ago and there was you know the exact road we'd been on and I said, it was just nice to go there but it's nice to see it off the main road" (female, 51-60, 1st trip).

Whilst she found Goathland to be very interesting, she was more struck by the neighbouring scenery in the same way I was when I visited (see Chapter Seven),

> "it was interesting, but I think I got just as big a reaction driving along there before we actually turned off the main road to go down there, going through those Yorkshire Moors, that desolation. It was very cold and wet and windy and I said, 'oh you know, I can just imagine some of the things you've read about in books or, *Wuthering Heights* and things like that" (female, 51-60, 1st trip).

One woman described how she had stumbled unexpectedly across a film location with her husband in London and the fun that this had prompted,

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[48] He also records that this was the first time he had ever seen snow!

> "and then you walk around a city like London, and on very corner you're seeing something, that you either learnt of through from friends or you've seen a movie, films there or or whatever it might be. I mean thinking of movies again, (I know that's one of the sort of themes), I remember walking through em (laughs) where were we, it was hilarious, we were walking through em, just up Regent Street, it was and the sign was there for Carnaby Street, and I remember my husband saying to me oh wow that's where *Austen Powers* would have been hanging out..... Oh well if you think of the film, I mean it was a really funny film, so it's a bit of a laugh when you see it, yes, but it's great to walk around and and to think of all the different, just the different you know places and the way they link up within a ten minute walk of each other" (female, 31-40, travelled previously).

Some of those that had not travelled to the UK before talked about wanting to watch television and film which depicted the UK following travel and the way that they could identify with what they saw. One woman described how she now chose to watch television programmes depicting the UK and how she could relate to them more since travelling to the UK. All expressed a sense of pleasure, excitement and self fulfilment when seeing places they had visited on the television back at home. The woman (on the organized tour) commented that,

> "yes, it does, yes, and you say you've actually been there. It is different to before we went, it is different to before we went. We sort of say, oh that's where that is but when you actually see it again after you've come back, you say, 'I have been there, I've been there, I've walked down that street' ..... Oh it does, yea, I think the kids are a bit tired of me saying, I've been there" (female, 41-50, 1st trip).

The man on the organized tour talked about how,

> "it's amazing how major tourist attractions are focal points in terms of film and quite often you're watching TV, 'oh gee I've been there', 'oh I can remember that' and so on. It's basically reinforcement of what you've seen and it does engender some sort of excitement I suppose because you recognize these landmarks, these major landmarks er which one has visited" (male, 51-60, 1st trip).

Two talked about watching Princess Diana's funeral on the television and their experience of the same kind of feelings,

> "you know, the funeral of Diana was amazing from Kensington Castle er Kensington Gardens down the Mall, Buckingham Palace. Er look, we've virtually walked that whole route, and it's rewarding, it's not only rewarding er but it's reinforcing essentially what you've experienced over there in terms of the environment of er of er London and the areas that you've visited" (male, 51-60, 1st trip).

One man described how he looked more closely at television films depicting the UK and the pleasure he had in telling other people that he and his wife had visited places shown on television,

> " it's on a Saturday evening here, and I say to the wife, "we've been there, we've been there", you know just mucking around..... ..... oh yea, that does, that makes you you know, makes you turn round you say to someone at work, 'did you watch the show last night?', say I was there and they just look at you and laugh." (male, 41-50, 1st trip).

One man talked about how seeing places he had visited on television films made him feel happy and reminded him of another life besides his 'daily grind',

> "well because you've seen some place, you've been there, you remember you actually, you know, you. Seeing images often triggers recollections, so you just remember the time you were there and what you were doing and so on and that just makes it I guess, well one of the things is you were on holiday and you were having fun, when you see some places that you've been on holiday you feel good because you were having fun" (male, 31-40, 1st generation - Malaysia, travelled previously).

Many found it difficult to describe how their tourism experience of the UK had affected them and how it would alter the way they continued to live their lives[49]. Some insisted that it would make no difference what so ever, others talked about learning and being educated about a culture that some had heralded from, some talked about it encouraging a thirst for travel more generally and the UK more specifically, two of the women talked about designing their gardens in the style of the ones that they had seen and one talked about buying furniture in the style that the British had in their homes. One man described how his travel to the UK made him appreciate British culture more and certain specific elements about it[50]. He also described being more appreciative of his own Australian culture,

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[49] See Abram *et al* (1997) on how tourist identities change and are not static.

[50] "for example if you think that em, many people in England tend to dress in a rather dowdy fashion, it's because they're cold, you've just got to rug up and to say to hoots with looking glamorous or whatever, not that we all go around here looking glamorous but the cold and the wind forces you to do things which you wouldn't otherwise do like wear lots of pullovers and jumpers and coats and things all stuffed on top of each other and things pulled down and tied over your ears, it's em, the essential. It's forced on you in that case by the weather, whereas here you just walk about in a T shirt

> "one appreciates one's home, there's lots, there's so much to be grateful for and the type of lifestyle we have. I know I came home saying gosh I hope that we don't end up with some of those English social and economic aspects[51]" (male, 51-60, 1st trip).

Conclusion

> ".....places are chosen to be gazed upon because there is an anticipation, especially through day-dreaming and fantasy, or intense pleasures, either on a different scale or involving a different sense from those customarily encountered. Such anticipation is constructed and sustained through a variety of non-tourist practices such as film, *TV*, literature, magazines, records, and videos which construct and reinforce the gaze" (Urry 1990a, p3) (emphasis added).

In contrast to the previous chapter therefore, this chapter has investigated processes and practices of tourism consumption and, that part of the hermeneutic circle concerned with the consumption of tourism meanings. It has given a voice to some of those actually engaged in the practice of 'doing' tourism and is evidence of the vast amount of new and rich material produced.

The research I undertook with the Australian tourists revealed that the objectives of BTA Sydney's promotional practice and tele-visual promotional practice in particular (described in Chapter Five) are indeed anticipated and realized in terms of the way the UK is (re)produced as an attractive tourist destination and the way Australians are (re)produced as tourists for it (Urry 1990a; Goss 1993; Cloke & Perkins 1998). However, it also interestingly revealed that the means by which this happens is not. Chapter Five revealed how BTA Sydney focused its tele-filmic promotional practice on motion picture film (the biggest campaign to date related to *Loch Ness*) and televized travel shows. Given the efforts involved therefore it was perhaps rather surprising that the Australian tourists did not refer to motion picture films as frequently as other (tele)filmic material and that travel shows were hardly mentioned at all (and, when they

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and comb your hair and obviously people look a little more open and fresher, and it's the weather really and if you bring an Englishman (*sic*) out here they would do exactly the same....." (male, 51-60, 1st trip)

[51] These included the British housing estates which he thought were depressing and claustrophobic for their inhabitants.

were, Australian tourists found it difficult to name them). The *Movie Map* (Liddall 1996) was furthermore only mentioned by two of the tourists who said that they would not specifically visit places indicated on it but would possibly make a detour if they found themselves to be in their vicinity of a (television)film location. Whilst all these (tele-filmic) promotional forms were mentioned by the Australian tourists I worked with, this chapter has revealed that television drama (and, *not* (tele)filmic material produced for tourism purposes) had the most powerful impact on their practice of tourism and is perhaps better anticipated by BTA Sydney's (tele)filmic promotional practice with regard to newspapers and women's magazines (and exemplified by their public relations campaign in respect of the Jane Austen (tele)filmic productions referred to here and in the previous chapter). The imagined geographies furthermore incorporated more organic as opposed to induced imagery thus supporting the concept proposed by Gunn (1972), that organic imagery exerts a stronger influence over the creation of imagined geographies of place than the induced imagery of tourist brochures, advertizing and other promotional practice (discussed in Chapter Three).

As has been revealed, television drama was very popular with the Australians I worked with for a variety of reasons, the most significant of which being its ability to effectively (re)produce the UK in a 'real' way (many compared British television in favour of US television) (Easthope 1993). Whilst some were aware that what they were viewing was contrived, most accepted what they viewed as being the next best way of experiencing Britain, the British and British-ness in the way anticipated by Macdonald (1990). Those television dramas most mentioned were furthermore popular with Australian tourists because of the way the UK is (re)produced by them. Excepting *The Bill*, (which was often referred to in connection with negative geographies of the UK) all the television dramas of Table 6.6 have a very strong British house style and make extensive use of location filming in the UK countryside which significantly (re)produces the cultural meanings, myths and stereotypes in a similar way to BTA Sydney's promotional practice despite the intended meanings being (re)produced for purposes not related to tourism.

These discourses of meanings were further corroborated (and circulated) by Australians' imagined geographies of the UK. As this chapter has revealed, Australian tourists' imagined geographies of the UK were very similar, extremely attractive and very much the stuff of BTA Sydney's promotional practice. As such, they were replete with mythical icons which included green rolling hills, castles, thatched cottages and old pubs and correlated with two types of countryside; that which is inhabited by the aristocracy and the wealthy and, that which is inhabited by more ordinary folk. Although the sources for Australians' imagined geographies of the UK were varied, television drama was the most mentioned and important. Tourists described how it had been a background influence since childhood and how its appeal to the visual was very powerful and how it constituted the "real-est" way of experiencing the UK apart from actually being there (Macdonald 1990). It also served as an important provider of information about the UK and like other forms of information, was similarly described as reinforcing imagined geographies rather than altering them. It also seemed to reassure tourists of their decision to travel to the UK.

What was really interesting however, was the way in which many of the Australians themselves seemed to (re)produce the UK ideologically as a superior place and a 'Great Britain' in the way they spoke about British television, their imagined geographies of it and their 'off-tape' conversation with me. Those with a British ancestry were very proud of it (although sometimes apologetic too) and had often been brought up to be. Some in their conversation with me indicated that anything connected with British, Britain and British-ness was rather better than anything connected with Australia (or anywhere else) like for example; the church, education, architecture, indoor furnishings and garden design. I also met some Australians who deliberately sought to sustain their English accent and as Chapter Five revealed many had been brought up to think that anything to do with the UK was "A1" and almost boasted about their preference for ABC television and its unspoken association with a more educated (and British kind of) audience.

As such, television film clearly had an important inter-connection with Australians' anticipated practice of tourism whilst in the UK (Urry 1990a; Goss 1993). Many seemed to want to collect the iconographic people (and places) of the television and their imagined geographies. Television film thus had three kinds of relationship with tourists. Tourists clearly wanted to see and experience their imagined geographies which were mainly sourced by television. And, whilst not the essential motivation for travel to the UK, others wanted to find places like those that they regularly viewed on television whereas others described wanting to deliberate seek specific television film locations. As such, television film had a considerable impact on anticipating Australian tourists' expectations, gaze, tour itineraries and experienced geographies of the UK more generally.

Australian tourists' experienced geographies of the UK were very much as they expected they would be, thus corroborating Goss (1993) and others' work which is discussed in more depth in Chapter Three. As such, tourists' experienced geographies of the UK (and the ways in which they were described) were very similar to those of BTA's promotional practice (see Chapter Five), the geographies of the UK screened on television in Australia (see earlier here and Chapter Seven) and those of the tourists' imaginations before travel (see earlier here). Australian tourists thus knew what the UK was going to be like before they experienced it. When experiencing it they found it to be very much as they expected it to be and, derived much pleasure from this (although phenomena which did not corroborate their geographies conversely afforded them disappointment). Television film also more specifically validated what was worthy of viewing for them and acted as a kind of arbitrator in the way suggested earlier by Goss (1993) and Crang (1996) in Chapter Three. Some (mainly women) therefore deliberately sought out television film locations and talked about experiencing a sense of familiarity, fun, romance and enjoyment when visiting places they had already seen on television. Some also talked about reliving the scenes and almost becoming a part of previous television films they had seen whilst others described enjoying places more for their own sake as opposed to their tele-filmic connections.

Following their travel, some talked about wanting to watch more television and film which depicted the UK because they could identify with it. Many also talked about the great sense of pleasure, excitement and self fulfilment they experienced when seeing the UK on television at home and the pleasure they took from telling others that they had been there. It was thus very interesting to see how television significantly contributed to Du Gay *et al*'s Circuit of Culture which is illustrated in Figure 2.2 and a tourism hermeneutic circle more specifically. Its contribution to this circuit of meaning with regard to the Australians' practice of tourism to the UK is of significance and evidenced by the similarity of the geographies described. However, because I was not able to work with as many Australian tourists during and following their travel in the UK for the reasons given in Chapter Four their voice relating to their experienced geography of the UK and, the mapping of their imagined geography of the UK onto this experienced geography of the UK is more limited. In order to address this therefore the next chapter describes how I utilized an auto-ethnographic approach in order to document how my own imagined geography of the places (re)produced by *Heartbeat*, *Pride & Prejudice* and *Remains of the Day* mapped onto my experienced geography of them. It furthermore in contrast to this chapter (which emphasizes television film's inter-connection with people (Australian tourists) emphasizes television film's inter-connection with place (the UK).

Chapter Seven: An Auto-Ethnography of (Tele)Tourism

Introduction

Chapter Six revealed how television film depicting the UK screened in Australia powerfully reflected and (re)produced a culture and shared meanings, understandings and interpretations about the UK (and its people) which became incorporated within the Australian tourists' everyday lives and expressed through signifying practices including their practice of tourism. In contrast therefore to Chapter Six which emphasized television film's inter-connection with people, (the Australian tourists), this chapter examines television film's inter-connection with place, (the UK). In order to do this, I selected contrasting tele-filmic material (from that which was most frequently mentioned by the Australian tourists I worked with, that utilized the UK in an extensive way and which importantly sponsored Australian tourists' imagined geographies of the UK) for analysis (see Chapter Six and Table 6.6 in particular). This chapter thus focuses on the long running television series ***Heartbeat*** (which still continues to be produced), the television serial ***Pride & Prejudice*** (which constitutes six episodes) and the film ***Remains of the Day*** (which is 134 minutes long) and, investigates how each of these inter-connects with imagined and experienced geographies of the UK as realized by the practice of tourism. The chapter comprises two main parts;

- **television film and imagined geographies of place** - this part of the chapter constitutes a detailed and critical examination of *Heartbeat*, *Pride & Prejudice* and *Remains of the Day*. It analyzes selected parts from them and examines how they each (re)produce the UK and meanings about it which are compared to and contrasted with the Australian tourists' imagined geographies of the UK. It also incorporates a discussion of relevant television viewing figures.

- **television film and experienced geographies of place** - this part of the chapter extends the previous chapter's investigation of how Australian tourists' imagined geographies of places map onto their experienced geographies of them. In order to do this, it describes how I utilized an auto-ethnographic approach to chart how my own imagined geography of the places (re)produced by *Heartbeat*, *Pride & Prejudice* and *Remains of the Day* mapped onto my experienced geography of them. It also examines how *Heartbeat*, *Pride & Prejudice* and *Remains of the Day* (re)produce the places that they actually depict and analyzes visitor figures relating to these places.

Television Film and Imagined Geographies of Place

This part of the chapter describes *Heartbeat*, *Pride & Prejudice* and *Remains of the Day* and reveals how popular they were with viewers watching them in the area of Sydney. It then goes on to investigate selected parts from them and critically examines them in two main ways. I firstly analyze the parts as an informed researcher (albeit in a way which is highly subject to the set of experiences I described in Chapters One and Eight) borrowing from the constructionist theories described in Chapters Two and Four and what I learned about in the film classes I referred to in Chapter One. Each part is thus considered in terms of the staging of the television film - the place, space, lighting and props, the costume and behaviour of the figures who act, the way in which the mise en scène is captured on film and its montage and allows for a more general kind of interpretation. I then go on to analyze the parts placing myself as a tele-tourist. I investigate how the UK is (re)produced together with intended and unintended meanings about it (and its people), the ways in which I consume these meanings and the relationship this has with my own practice of tele-tourism. This in turn is compared to and contrasted with the Australian tourists' practice of tele-tourism described in the previous chapter.

Heartbeat

Heartbeat is YTV's adaptation of the *Constable* books, crime fiction novels written by Nicholas Rhea[1]. The series which is set in the 1960s originally featured PC Nick Rowan, a police constable who quits his inner city beat to take a job as a rural village bobby in Aidensfield, Yorkshire and his wife, Kate Rowan, who practices as a doctor. As such therefore, *Heartbeat* pays a high proportion of dramatic attention to the two popular television drama types referred to in Chapter Two; crime and illness[2]. The series has followed their lives, the birth of their child and Kate's tragic illness and death. After a suitable period of time, Nick falls in love with the village's primary school teacher, Jo Weston who he eventually marries. Following his marriage to Jo, they emigrate with his daughter to Canada. However, the series still continues without them and depicts the lives of Aidensfield's police and other village characters.

Heartbeat is hugely popular in the UK[3] and is very successful in Australia where it is screened on the ABC network and frequently features in ratings for the ten top most viewed television programmes in Australia[4]. When I was undertaking research in Australia, ABC were screening the sixth series (which ended on Saturday 15 March 1997) on Saturdays at 19.30 - 20.30. The sixth series depicts Nick coping with life without his first wife Kate and slowly coming to terms with her loss. With the help of 'Auntie Eileen' he is encouraged to take part in village life again and his friendship with Jo Weston blossoms into a romance and engagement for marriage.

As Table 7.1 illustrates, *Heartbeat* was very popular with people living in the Sydney area. It was viewed on average by 496 000 people per episode in February 1997 or

[1] Nicholas Rhea is the pen-name of a former inspector of the North Yorkshire Police, Peter N. Walker. Under the pseudonym James Ferguson, Peter Walker is also the author of several 'Emmerdale' novels based on YTV's *Emmerdale* series.
[2] The blurring of these two formats is encapsulated in the title *Heartbeat* (Phillips & Fish forthcoming).
[3] *Heartbeat* was the highest rated drama series of all the UK's terrestrial channels during 1992, 1993 and 1994 and has achieved audiences of almost 19 million viewers, (audiences which exceed Australia's population of 18 054 000 (ABS 1996c)).
[4] *Heartbeat* is also televized in 34 other countries (Breakell 1998).

12.9% of all people living in the Sydney area. It was particularly enjoyed by people of 40 years of age and older and by women more than men[5] (Nix 1997).

Table 7.1: *Heartbeat* Viewing Data for the Sydney area (average viewing figures for the four episodes of series six screened in February 1997)

	Tarps (%)[a]	Projections (000's)[b]
Households[c]	23.8	340
Total People	12.9	496
Children 5-12	5.3	21
Teens 13-17	4.6	12
Men 16-24	2.4	6
Men 25-39	7.2	34
Men 40-54	12.7	50
Men 55+	29.4	104
Women 16-24	2.1	5
Women 25-39	8.1	38
Women 40-54	17.2	68
Women 55+	35.9	152

[a]: Target Audience Rating Point (% of particular demographic).

[b]: Viewing Figures.

[c]: Households with at least one television switched on to this channel.

Source: Nix (1997).

Watching *Heartbeat*

In order to establish the meanings, understandings and interpretations of the UK (re)produced by *Heartbeat* for Australians, I focused my attentions on *Snapped*, (see Appendix K), the seventh episode of the sixth series which was broadcast by ABC on Saturday 18 January 1997, a month prior to my first speaking with Australian tourists. *Snapped* weaves together plots which in turn are set against the backdrop of Nick's

[5] And thus corroborates research undertaken by Nugent *et al* (1992) which is discussed in Chapter Five.

relationship with his new girl-friend Jo Weston, life at Aidensfield police station and life in Aidensfield more generally. The episode begins with an electrical fire which takes hold at an hôtel in the vicinity of Aidensfield. Mr Webster, the proprietor reports the fire to the police as he suspects foul play with particular regard to an inherited employee (Mr Rodgers) who he finds especially irritating. PC Rowan does not detect anything amiss on his visit to the hôtel but encounters the protagonist of the counter plot, Mr Jansen, who is introduced as a photographer interested in using the hôtel as a location for a fashion shoot.

On the pretext of another incident, Mr Webster dismisses Mr Rodgers who gets drunk and gets a taxi to take him back home. When asked for his fare, Mr Rodgers becomes very aggressive and threatens the taxi driver with a broken glass bottle. The Aidensfield police become involved but are unable to get Mr Rodgers to leave his house. However, his mother is contacted and eventually relinquishes her son to the police for arrest. Whilst this is going on, Mr Jansen, the photographer undertakes his fashion shoots in the hôtel and village. We learn that the shoots are merely a decoy for a series of burglaries that he and his 'model' assistants undertake. However, on leaving the village with their bounty they are apprehended by PC Nick Rowan. Back at Aidensfield's police station, Mr Rodgers insists that only PC Rowan deals with him. Nick agrees reluctantly because he know that this will wreck his personal plans for a weekend away with Jo. However, he does not anticipate that this action will be instrumental in the breakdown of their relationship at the close of the episode.

Despite fires, personal tragedies, burglary and violence, this episode of *Heartbeat* is typical of the series as a whole in that it (re)produces a gentle, non-threatening, non-confrontational, nostalgic and altogether romanticized geography of the UK in a similar way to the films of Young and Jenkins' (1984) analysis (which are described in Chapter Two). *Heartbeat* furthermore (re)produces a time where people who are in need are cared for, where burglars get caught, where people still have respect for the police, where a sense of community exists and where people co-operate with one another. The

only disconcerting element is the collapse of Nick and Jo's relationship at the end of the programme. However, this generates a sense of intrigue and prompts us to view the next episode.

I analyzed four parts from *Snapped*; the opening and ending credits, Nick's arrival at the hôtel and Mr Webster's drive in the country with the 'models'.

The opening credits - constitute eight shots (one group of three, one group of four and one individual shot) and 26 seconds in time. They are accompanied by Nick Berry (the actor for PC Nick Rowan) singing the Buddy Holly hit, '*Heartbeat*'. This group like the ending credits are very important because they are included in every episode of *Heartbeat* and as such are the most repeated and viewed shots of the analysis. The first three shots introduce us to the place and are all long shots which dissolve into one another. The first shot shows a fast moving stream which makes its way over rocks and under large deciduous bare trees and a blue sky which is reflected in the water. We also see a road and some green fields. However, it is difficult to take that much in because we are very quickly onto the second shot which depicts a puffing steam train and passenger carriages making its way over the crest of a hill, some maroon brown rolling winter countryside, a few skeletal trees, one sheep and an overcast sky. The third shot depicts a clear blue sky, a dry-stone wall, moor-land, a few tufts of coarse grass and a group of sheep[6].

Although mitigated by the jolly soundtrack, this group of shots (re)produce the UK as a cold, bare, lonely, bleak, threatening, hard and tough place where vegetation, animals and people have to struggle to exist against the elements. These place meanings are further corroborated by a climate which despite the appearance of some blue sky is chilly, grey and overcast. Given that television film was the most important source for Australian tourists' imagined geographies of the UK, that *Heartbeat* was mentioned so frequently and that these particular shots are probably seen every time *Heartbeat* is

[6] The title of the series, ***HEARTBEAT*** is superimposed onto this shot.

viewed, it is interesting how the geography (re)produced here is so unlike those related to me by Australian tourists in Chapter Six. This imagery does however constitute what a few Australian tourists' said about what they did not like about the UK and its being cold, wet, overcast, grey, damp and rainy. It indeed probably has more in common with what Australian tourists' said about their imagined geographies of their own country. Some of the Australian tourists described the UK by comparing it positively to Australia. The adjectives that they used to describe Australia; hard, threatening and brown would quite accurately describe the shots here. Despite this though, the bleakness does have a romantic quality which does make it look rather intriguing. However, like the steam train (which conjures up a nostalgia about the past and a feeling of comfort that civilization does exist in these climes) we would probably prefer just to pass through this place.

The next four shots introduce us to the people of this bleak place. They are all medium close-up shots which cut from one to another (and complicated by black and white shots within the main shots). We are introduced to PC Nick Rowan[7], PS Blaketon[8], PC Ventriss[9] and Claude Jeremiah Greengrass[10] respectively. The props, costume, graphics and behaviours portrayed in each of these four shots provide us with much meaning about each individual's character. PC Rowan is (re)produced as a handsome and immaculately groomed man who appears to be kindly and honest. PS Blaketon is (re)produced as a tougher character who looks very serious and has a hard quality about him whereas PC Ventriss appears to be more kindly and gentle but lazy. Greengrass is (re)produced as a scruffy, grubby and stubbly character with a nervous twitch in his eyes. He scratches or picks his nose and appears to be a likeable but mischievous rogue with a strong affinity for money. Each thus in turn provides kindness, a stern hand, relaxation and eccentricity and a bit of fun. These decent old-fashioned looking folk provide us with the kind of distraction and protection to help us cope with the harshness of the place depicted in the opening shots and evoke a nostalgia for a time when much local crime

[7] acted by Nick Berry.
[8] acted by Derek Fowlds.
[9] acted by William Simons.

was misdemeanour and when people respected the police who were able to successfully tackle local crime unarmed. They also however, like the people of the tourist brochures analyzed by Goss (1993) and Norton (1996), (and discussed in Chapter Three) (re)produce a mythologized geography of the British people. They furthermore (re)produce the UK as a place controlled and inhabited by white people only and a place which hides or is devoid of women and children.

The final shot takes us back to place and Aidensfield, the setting for *Heartbeat.* This long shot depicts the village green, a bench, a war memorial and wreath and long shadows; the weather is overcast but bright. In the background we see a post office, village shop, some housing, a person walking and a sheep[11]. The immaculate litter/dropping/people-free village green, shops, sedate villager and dog and sheep evoke a safe romanticized rural life which is quiet, simple, easy and stress-free. The memorial and its wreath suggest a respect for men, the past and the official and the bench is suggestive of contemplative relaxation. In contrast to the earlier place shots, this place has a more clement and bright climate, it is more colourful (there is an abundance of bright green set off well by the red and white of the buildings) and there is obvious evidence that human beings exist which makes it more attractive. It is also distinguishable and much easier to identify its location. The geography (re)produced in the shots analyzed here very much confirms the imagined geographies of the UK related to me by Australian tourists in Chapter Six. The village here is composed of many elements which were included in tourists' descriptions of the UK, like for example, village greens and old vernacular architecture which were in turn frequently referred to rather diminutively as "little".

Nick's arrival at the hôtel - constitutes three shots (which cut from one to another), 45 seconds and PC Rowan's arrival at the hôtel following the fire. The action takes place in the hôtel grounds and within the hôtel itself on a sunny spring day. The opening shot

[10] acted by Bill Maynard.
[11] The shot is superimposed with the title of the episode and its author, **SNAPPED by PETER GIBBS** which appears half way through the shot.

depicts a driveway, a small landscaped park, a formal garden and lawns, a tennis court and a medium sized stone country house which has been converted into an hôtel. Inside the hôtel we see a sumptuous drawing room with a floral and peacock-feather arrangement, paintings, a collection of fine china in a display cabinet and sofas.

Nick enters the first shot on his motor-bike and is followed by the camera as he makes his way along the drive passing a couple playing tennis to park his motor bike in front of the hôtel. The second shot zooms in on Nick as he enters the hôtel and its sitting room and follows him through the room to third shot which is a long shot taken from a low height to afford a view of Nick and a man in beige overalls fixing the stair carpet in the hall. The man does not notice his arrival until Nick rings the bell in the hallway. The shots are accompanied by a sound track which incorporates nice 'n' easy laid-back background music, the snorting of horses, the sound of the tennis ball, racquets and players, Nick's motor-bike, bird song and the squawk of peacocks. The music fades as we hear Nick's footsteps through the hôtel and the hammering of the man fixing the stair carpet. The third shot ends with three rings of the hôtel bell.

I found the places (re)produced here far more appealing than those of the opening credits. The weather is cheerier making the place look warmer and easier to bare. It feels less lonely and less threatening because there are some people who perform in an active way; one rides a motor bike, two play tennis and one mends a carpet. There is also evidence of people's action more generally. The landscape of the former shots has been tamed and obviously cultivated; the very green park is landscaped, land has been appropriated for animals, there are formal gardens, topiary, lawns and a tennis court. The hôtel and its grounds are replete with middle-class British icons or signifiers, (a vintage car, neatly mowed lawns and elegant garden furniture) which (re)produce an attractive, wealthy, comfortable and easy place to be. It also looks warm and sumptuous inside the hôtel. The furnishings have been designed to welcome, comfort and interest and, together with the music and sound conjure up a sense of relaxation and happiness.

These shots in the same way as the last of the opening shots described previously, incorporate an iconography of the countryside which was very much the stuff of Australian tourists' imagined geographies of the UK discussed in Chapter Six. We see lots of the colour green in these shots, attractive gardens and lawns, horses and topiary. As discussed earlier, Australian tourists frequently referred to the UK positively in comparison with Australia and as a place which was small as opposed to large, old as opposed to new, comfortable as opposed to threatening, green as opposed to brown and soft as opposed to hard. In comparison with Australia, the place shown here is very small in scale and its prettiness is easy on the eye compared with the vast cattle stations, built environment and places of Australian countryside. One tourist talked about how she thought the UK was,

> "more attractive because when you see a bit of desert here and you could be out there for years and you could drop dead in a number of hours so, like in that respect, it's probably more appealing and doesn't seem so threatening" (female, 21-30, travelled previously).

The hôtel here also dates from Victorian times and together with its furnishings have a history which was so attractive to the Australian tourists I worked with and predated the built environment most were familiar with (see Chapter Six).

Mr Webster's trip in the country - constitutes seven shots (which cut from one to another) and last for 50 seconds. They depict Mr Webster driving his vintage car with the two models through the Yorkshire countryside. The girls are actually distracting Mr Webster with their flattery and giggling which he appears to enjoy whilst Mr Jansen (the photographer) burgles the hôtel. It is a sunny spring day and the car passes through some beautiful green countryside; we see trees, hedges, fallow fields, ditches, copses, sticky buds, sheep, ponds and fencing. Mr Webster sports traditional English country-wear; a tweed jacket, a maroon jumper, Viyella-style shirt and brown tie and a very traditional 'short back and sides' haircut. The girls in contrast wear very trendy clothing and are heavily made-up with false eyelashes and wigs. The only sound we hear is '*Pretty*

Woman' being sung by Roy Orbison which the girls at times appear to be swaying in time to in the car[12].

YTV (re)produces the UK countryside as a rural idyll in these shots in a similar way to some of the (tele)filmic material referred to in Chapter Two[13]. We are shown beautiful English countryside which is neither too formally cultivated nor too wild and which is corroborative of Australians' imagined geographies of the UK countryside. We are also able to enjoy it in the most perfect of conditions; it is a sunny spring day which is experienced in an open-top vintage car driven by someone else with some fun friends. The music makes the drive great fun and very memorable. This set of shots therefore not only replicates the signifers from Australian tourists' imagined geographies of the UK, it also portrays the way most Australians wanted to experience this geography, travelling in an unrestricted and free way by hired car (as opposed to an organized coach tour). One of the tourists expressed how she, "would like to go through all the back roads to see the country - and that mainly came from a television programme....." (female, 51-60, 1st generation - Poland, travelled previously)[14].

The music and the models' appearance emphasize the programme's (re)production of the 1960's, a time associated with freedom and being able to express oneself. I think these shots and *Heartbeat* more generally are attractive to Australians (especially those that are forty years of age and over[15]) because it reminds them of this time. I think *Heartbeat* is additionally attractive for some of the Australian tourists I interviewed with a British heritage because it reminds them of the time when they, their family and/or friends emigrated to Australian on the 'ten pound Pom' scheme of the 1960's.

[12] Mercy! - I found this soundtrack so powerful that whenever I edit this part of the chapter, I always have '*Pretty Woman*' resounding in my mind!
[13] Phillips *et al* (1999) focus on how a range of visual and aural signifiers are specifically incorporated to (re)produce the places in *Heartbeat*.
[14] See Chapter Six.
[15] 65% of the Australian tourists I worked with were over the age of 40.

Ending credits - Each of the *Heartbeat* episodes ends with a series of nine long shots which fade from one to another and run for 40 seconds. They are a series of shots depicting moor-land to which we may say good-bye and which are superimposed and rather obscured by the programme's credits. The first shot (is a greyer version of the third one from the opening credits) depicts a clear blue sky, a dry-stone wall, moor-land, a few tufts of coarse grass and a group of sheep. The second shows a rolling but bleak moor-land scene and cuts to a third which shows a stream running over rocks with bare trees on the banks and green fields. The forth shows a faster moving stream with steeper banks and bare deciduous trees. The fifth shot is of a steam train, bridge, railway track, embankment and trees in the background and a signal in the foreground. The sixth (is similar to the second from the opening credits) shows a river in a valley with a steam train running in the background and very overcast weather. The seventh shot is the first from the introduction and depicts a fast moving stream which makes its way over rocks and under large deciduous bare trees. The eighth depicts rugged moor-land, dry-stone walling and a stream and the ninth which I found to be the most attractive depicts a farm cottage with fields and moor-land in the background because it depicts evidence of people. However, despite Nick Berry's attempts to jolly us up with Buddy Holly's 'Heartbeat', these ending shots (re)produce more of the similarly bleak and unfriendly geography of the opening shots. They also put me in mind of what one Australian tourist said about the UK climate,

"no sun, no heat, no warmth, no leaves, No-vember" (male, 31-40, 1st trip).

Pride & Prejudice

The BBC's adaptation of Jane Austen's (1990 [1813]) *Pride & Prejudice* centres on the Bennet family and a series of romantic intrigues involving their five daughters. The story begins by Charles Bingley, a rich bachelor moving to Netherfield, a house close to where the Bennet family resides. He is accompanied by his two sisters and a friend,

Fitzwilliam Darcy[16]. Bingley and Jane, (the eldest Bennet daughter) fall mutually in love much to the aversion of his sisters who eventually bring about their separation. Darcy is attracted to Elizabeth (the second eldest Bennet daughter[17]) but offends her by his supercilious behaviour at a ball. Her dislike for him is intensified by a false account proffered to her by George Wickham, a young militia officer. Darcy proposes to Elizabeth but in terms which do not conceal the violence of his pride. Elizabeth mortifies him by indignantly rejecting him, thinking him also to be a player in bringing about the separation of her beloved sister Jane and Bingley. Darcy writes to her and justifies his former action, proves the baselessness of his false account and helps to trace the whereabouts of Elizabeth's younger sister Lydia when she elopes with Wickham. The attachment between Bingley and Jane is renewed and leads to their engagement in spite of the intervention by others. Darcy and Elizabeth eventually become engaged and the story ends with their marriages.

Pride & Prejudice was very successful in Australia and screened on the ABC network on Sundays between 3 March 1996 - 7 April 1996 at 19.30 - 20.30 and repeated on Sundays between 26 May 1996 - 30 June 1996 at 20.30 - 21.30, eight months prior to my working with Australian tourists[18]. As Tables 7.2 and 7.3 illustrate, *Pride & Prejudice* was very popular with people residing in the area of Sydney. Each of the six episodes was viewed on average by 519 000 people or, 13.7% of all people living in the Sydney area. When the serial was repeated, it was viewed by an average of 241 000 people or, 6.3% of all people living in the Sydney area. Like *Heartbeat*, *Pride & Prejudice* was particularly enjoyed by people of 40 years of age and older and by women more than men (Nix 1997)[19].

[16] The rôle of Darcy is acted by Australian actor, Colin Firth.
[17] The rôle of Elizabeth is acted by the British actress, Jennifer Ehle.
[18] *Pride & Prejudice* was originally screened in the UK during September and October 1995 and was extremely popular and at its peak viewed by 14 million people. It has also been very popular in video format and is one of the BBC's top ten selling videos.
[19] See also Barnard (1997).

Table 7.2: *Pride & Prejudice* Viewing Data for the Sydney area*

	Tarps (%)[a]	Projections (000's)[b]
Households[c]	26.9	346
Total People	13.7	519
Children 5-12	4.8	20
Teens 13-17	4.2	11
Men 16-24	3.1	8
Men 25-39	5.9	27
Men 40-54	14.0	54
Men 55+	26.6	91
Women 16-24	7.7	20
Women 25-39	12.8	59
Women 40-54	21.3	81
Women 55+	33.3	138

Table 7.3: *Pride & Prejudice* (repeat) Viewing Data for the Sydney area*

	Tarps (%)[a]	Projections (000's)[b]
Households[c]	12.6	162
Total People	6.3	241
Children 5-12	2.5	10
Teens 13-17	1.7	4
Men 16-24	2.4	7
Men 25-39	3.5	16
Men 40-54	5.7	22
Men 55+	11.1	38
Women 16-24	3.4	9
Women 25-39	6.9	32
Women 40-54	8.9	34
Women 55+	15.8	66

*: average viewing figure for six episodes.

[a]: Target Audience Rating Point (% of particular demographic). [b]: Viewing Figures.

[c]: Households with at least one television switched on to this channel. Source: Nix (1997).

This latter point was emphasized by one of the female Australian tourists,

> **NT: "Right - have you seen film depicting the UK in the last two years - by the term film, I mean big screen film at cinemas, television advertising, television series....**
>
> Tourist: Yes - I bet I can't remember them all - it's just in the last couple of years?
>
> **NT: All the ones you particularly like, or stand out, whichever...**
>
> Tourist: Yea - *Four Weddings and A Funeral*; *Pride & Prejudice* - like every other woman in Australia loves....." (female, 31-40, travelled previously).

Watching *Pride & Prejudice*

In order to establish how discourses of the UK (and its people) are (re)produced by *Pride & Prejudice* for the Australian tourists I worked with I analyzed three parts; the opening scene, Mr & Mrs Gardiner and Elizabeth Bennet's drive to Pemberley and Mr Darcy's arrival at Pemberley (see Appendix L).

The opening scene - constitutes 13 shots which cut from one another and take up 50 seconds of time. The shots depict a country scene; a fallow field, hedges, woods, trees and a large red brick eighteenth century house with many chimneys. The weather (which is clear and sunny), vegetation, light and shadows suggest that it is late summer. We also see two men galloping on horses who halt to view the house. They are both white, young and handsome and dressed in expensive elegant riding outfits which suggest that they are very wealthy upper-class English men (as do their accents and phraseology) and that the time being depicted is the early eighteenth century.

The visual action is accompanied by a variety of sounds. We hear a French horn which emulates the hunting horn at the beginning, horses breathing and the sound of galloping hooves on grass. The music which features throughout *Pride & Prejudice* is the work of Carl Davis and is a constant feature throughout this series of shots as it is indeed in the whole series. We also hear the following conversation between the two men;

Bingley: "it's a fair prospect!"
Darcy: "it's pretty enough I grant you"
Bingley: "oh, it's nothing to Pemberley I know, but I must settle somewhere, have I your approval?"
Darcy: "you'll find the society something savage"
Bingley: "country manners, I think they're charming"
Darcy: "then you better take it"
Bingley: "thank you, I shall, I shall close with the attorney directly....."

After viewing the house, the two men ride off viewed by a woman who appears to be watching them from a distance. She is pretty and has a kind, happy and open face and wears an outfit which suggests she is not as wealthy or of the same social class as the men. Those not familiar with Austen's story learn that the men are Mr Bingley and Mr Darcy and, that the woman is Miss Elizabeth Bennet in due course.

The BBC (re)produce a place and people which reflects and is constitutive of wealth and power (Duncan 1990). The countryside we see has been landscaped by a professional, perhaps Lancelot 'Capability' Brown or Humphrey Repton and not the workers or enthusiastic amateurs employed to 'do' the grounds at Mr Webster's hôtel depicted in the *Heartbeat* shots described earlier. The red brick house which we see in the third and fifth shots is large and impressive and situated in an ideal position from which to gaze upon its gardens, park and estate. The two men cut through the landscape quite unabashed by their imposing surroundings of control (Cosgrove 1984, 1985). It and its estate after all have been (re)produced by men (and their capital) like themselves who are wealthy and upper-class and who exert power over labour (Mitchell 1994). The horses and music put us in mind of hunting, (a pastime associated with the upper-classes) although here, Mr Bingley is hunting for a house (and a wife) not an animal.

Chapter Six revealed how Australian tourists' imagined geographies of UK countryside tended to fall into two categories; that which was inhabited by ordinary people and that which was inhabited by the wealthy and aristocracy and replete with castles, stately homes and ornamental lakes. The geography (re)produced by these shots corroborates the imagined geographies of the latter category. In contrast to the gentle rolling green

country curves of the land (re)produced in the *Heartbeat* shots (and probably owned by farmers and local gentry), this is a magnificent landscape highly contrived in a classical way for the very wealthy upper-classes. The place itself has been transformed to symbolize a series of meanings and self-definitions about its owners which in turn have been recycled into those of the BBC (Greider & Garkovich 1994). Chapter Six revealed how this kind of landscape was attractive to Australian tourists for a variety of reasons which included; their not being available in Australia and its being very different, an enjoyment of history (which for some was their own) and, an interest in the aristocracy, monarchy, the British class system and the power and regulation which produced these kind of landscapes. Alternatively some also pointed out that they did not feel at all comfortable with what this kind of geography represented and (re)produced. Two of the Australian tourists I worked with for example bemoaned the unfair UK class structure which they described as unfair when discussing the recently produced television and motion picture film adaptations of Jane Austen novels like *Emma* (1986 [1816]), *Pride & Prejudice* (1990 [1813]) and *Sense & Sensibility* (1986 [1811]) more generally. One of them commented that,

> "well in those films, the rich live well and the poor live very poorly and worked extremely hard. Er, beautiful countryside, magnificent, magnificent art, magnificent buildings, I mean, that's for the rich that is, em. Perhaps a lot of, well in some of those, a lot of em, what's the word I'm looking for em, like unfairness, a lot of people are treated unfairly but that's not quite the word I'm looking for ..... Yes or if you have like, some of them would exert a fair bit of power over people and er, power was used in a very poor way, very unfair, very unjust way. You had your people that were fair but a lot of them well as some of those films depicted, and I'm sure it would be pretty true like er, it didn't worry them too much as long as they were out of sight and out of mind type of thing. But I mean that probably applied in the 1800's and 1700's perhaps fairly world-wide. I don't know, but certainly that, it did, I mean a lot of those depicted the rich living well and the poor living very poorly and sometimes there wasn't a lot of justice" (female, 51-60, 1st trip).

Mr & Mrs Gardiner and Elizabeth Bennet's drive to Pemberley - This scene constitutes 12 shots which cut from one to the other and take one minute and 20 seconds in time. When Elizabeth Bennet realizes that Mr Darcy is not at home she consents to visiting the Pemberley estate with Mr & Mrs Gardiner. Although she had declined Darcy's (first) offer of marriage, a latent love for him has developed. She is relieved he is not at home but has a strong curiosity to see the Darcy seat, which is very fine,

impressive and without show. Elizabeth likes Pemberley very much and tells the Gardiners, "I like it very well indeed, I don't think I have ever seen a place so happily situated, I like it very well indeed".

The first shot is an extreme long shot depicting the Gardiners and Elizabeth from the rear in their carriage making its way along a drive through a large estate (the estate is so large in fact that Elizabeth makes jokes about them seeing the house by dark) on a bright but overcast day[20]. The next series of shots show the open top carriage with its occupants making its way towards the house over a bridge and through woods and shrubs. The nearer the house the carriage gets, the more wooded and landscaped the park becomes. We see a folly, woods, green hills, a stream, a bridge, shrubs and rhododendron bushes. The seventh shot eventually brings us to Pemberley. It is a long shot which pans to indicate the movement of the carriage and its holting to take in the view. Pemberley is indeed a very fine house and has an impressive Italianate garden front with a huge portico and statues. To its front it has a lake and formal gardens. The drive is accompanied by very slow deliberate music played by a chamber orchestra. We also hear the passengers' discussion about Pemberley, its vastness and its owner, the horses' hooves clatter on the drive and the carriage's wheels and reins. The climax of the sequence is viewing Pemberley for the first time, to which we hear Elizabeth gasp.

Whilst landscaped, the first shot depicts the outskirts of the park, which are less wooded and shrubbed and as a consequence more bare and open. We see a typical eighteenth century icon; a folly, to one side which counterbalances this distinguished scene with a sense of quaintness. The long drive through the landscaped hills generates a sense of enquiry as to where it leads, as do the next series of shots depicting the anticipative group. Our feeling is matched by Elizabeth's as we do indeed begin to wonder whether we will actually get to see the house whose grand reputation has been much anticipated throughout the serial by the music, speech, (see the conversation referred to in relation to the previous set of shots), action, camera-work and mise-en-scene. However, the

carriage and music eventually holt to let us take in our first view of Pemberley, (see Figure 2.1). Pemberley is the most imposing building we see in *Pride & Prejudice* and has the size, situation and status of a palace. It is quite awe inspiring and a built environment type that many of the Australians in Chapter Six said that they hoped to, and actually enjoyed experiencing as tourists in the UK.

Elizabeth Bennet and the Gardiners travel through and gaze upon the BBC's (re)production of an impressive landscaped park of wealth and power which dwarfs the carriage and its passengers. The BBC have furthermore constructed a masculinized gaze (for Elizabeth Bennet and the Gardiners and, us), which lets us take aesthetic pleasure from the landscape (Rose 1993). The geography (re)produced here confirms an ideological way of seeing, one which reflects the way the owners of this location wanted to represent themselves and their property, which in turn has been (re)produced by the BBC to (re)present their own discourses of meaning about Darcy (Cosgrove 1984). Chapter Six revealed how Australian tourists often wanted to seek out places like the imagined geographies of a UK inhabited by rich and titled and, how they specifically sought to experience the locations themselves for real. Whilst much of this (re)production is highly contrived, the locations portrayed really do exist and in Pemberley's, or Lyme Park's case can actually be experienced by the public (see later discussion on my site visit to Lyme Park). As discussed in Chapter Six, Australian tourists described how this form of realism in British television was very attractive to them and almost proof that their imagined geographies really existed. Donna Wales (BTA Sydney's Head of Media Relations) too understands that this is key to Australians' liking for television drama like *Pride & Prejudice*,

NT: "so why do you think those are all significant, what is there about those films that stands out?"

BTA: "The countryside and the people. Stunning green countryside, lifestyles, also the accents. Australians love to hear the different accents; i.e., Scottish, Welsh, Yorkshire. Anything that is filmed in the many stately homes and castles of Britain. Period films are very popular as Australia is such a young country, they find the period intriguing."

[20] This scene has similarities with the opening scene of *Remains of the Day* which is described later on here.

The geography additionally confirms some of the Australian tourists' imagined geographies of the people. The people (re)produced in these shots are white upper middle-class folk. They are kind, decent and polite people with exceptionally stylized manners and language which reveals much depth of thought and insight. Disparaging remarks are not made directly but are rather implied in a most elegant, erudite and subtle fashion.

Mr Darcy's arrival at Pemberley - This series of shots occurs shortly after the last series of shots. Whilst the Gardiners and Elizabeth explore Pemberley, Mr Darcy arrives back home a day early in order to prepare for his guests. He is greatly tortured by his (seemingly unrequited) love for Elizabeth which he battles to conquer.

This sequence comprises 30 shots which cut from one another and take three minutes and five seconds in time. I concentrated my attention on those 23 depicting Darcy as the sequence alternates between his arrival on the estate and the Gardiners' and Elizabeth's tour of the house. The first shot is a long shot which affords us a very attractive view (despite being overcast still) of the Pemberley estate. The camera then pans to the left and focuses on the troubled Darcy who gallops through the rhododendron groves towards his home (and unknowingly Elizabeth). We see deciduous and coniferous trees, wooded hills, dry-stone walling, trails and lakes[21]. The next shots depict Darcy dismounting and disrobing down to his trousers and shirt by a lake into which he dives and takes a swim. The final shots of the sequence depict a rather diaphanous and still impassioned Darcy striding towards his house. Darcy's passion for Elizabeth is so strong that he can not rid himself of it as is evidenced most obviously in his fencing (shown in a previous scene), horse riding and plunging into cold lakes. This very apparent display of love (lust and passion) together with the fact that he is seen partly disrobed and diaphanous has been reported as making this scene particularly interesting to many female viewers (Ward 1995; Crosbie 1996). These scenes are accompanied by

[21] I was amused to find later that the BBC had removed Manchester from the scene discussed here.

some rather anticipative music (and camera work) which lets us know that Darcy and Elizabeth will encounter one another before they actually do so. This set of shots (re)produce some more beautiful landscape scenes which corroborate Australians' imagined geography of an upper-class UK and extend the (re)production of the previous set of shots. We see therefore the iconography of a wealthy and powerful landscape, (woods, groves, trails, lawns, lakes and statues) which becomes increasingly more formal in design as Darcy nears the house.

Remains of the Day

Merchant Ivory/Columbia's *Remains of the Day* is based on the Booker Prize winning novel by Kazuo Ishiguro (1993), a Japanese writer who grew up in Britain. The story depicts a poignant story about duty and responsibility, love and loss among the ruling and serving classes of England before and after the Second World War. The drama focuses its attentions on Mr Stevens, the butler employed by Darlington Hall. Mr Stevens (played by Anthony Hopkins) is a man who takes a personal pride in the smooth operation of Darlington Hall and its international conferences and political meetings which take place as tension mounts during the 1930's. Mr Stevens never questions his station in life or his master's apparent Nazi sympathies. He also can not admit his own feelings which are kept hidden for many years for Miss Kenton, the housekeeper played by Emma Thompson.

Remains of the Day was very popular in Australia and screened on Australia's Channel 10 on Sunday 16 February 1997 at 20.30 - 23.15, the Sunday before I began my programme of interviews, and as Table 7.4 illustrates viewed by 273 000 people (or 7.1%) of all people residing in the Sydney area. Like *Heartbeat* and *Pride & Prejudice*, *Remains of the Day* was more popular with people aged 40 years and older and women more than men[22].

[22] The film was launched in 1993 and was very successful in the UK. It has subsequently been reformatted on video and is frequently televized.

Table 7.4: *Remains of the Day* Viewing Data for the Sydney area

	Tarps[a] (%)	Projections[b] (000's)
Households[c]	16.9	242
Total People	7.1	273
Children 5-12	0.6	2
Teens 13-17	1.8	5
Men 16-24	0.7	2
Men 25-39	5.0	24
Men 40-54	7.1	28
Men 55+	10.0	36
Women 16-24	6.7	17
Women 25-39	7.3	35
Women 40-54	11.9	47
Women 55+	18.9	80

[a]: Target Audience Rating Point (% of particular demographic).

[b]: Viewing Figures.

[c]: Households with at least one television switched on to this channel.

Source: Nix (1997).

Watching *Remains of the Day*

In order to establish how discourses of the UK are (re)produced by *Remains of the Day* for the Australian tourists I worked with, I analyzed three parts; The Opening Scene, The Last Night of the Conference and The Ending Scene (see Appendix M).

The opening scene - constitutes one shot which lasts for 60 seconds. It begins by a circular dissolve from the opening credits in the centre of the screen. As the dissolve completes we find ourselves making our way along a drive (which is not well kept and has probably seen better times) through landscaped grounds on an overcast spring day. We appear to be following two cars which are probably travelling about 10 miles per

hour. As we follow them, we see a ditch to the left, trees (some are pollarded), deer and after a short while a perfectly situated country house of sand-stone which has its windows shuttered. It has a marquee, several cars and an auctioneers' van parked to the front of it. The two cars in front of us pull off the drive onto the grass where we assume they are to park with the others. The vehicles date from the 1940's, are very ordinary and painted in dull colours. At the end of the shot we also see some people who are dressed in 1940's clothing which is also ordinary and dull in colour and men in overalls presumably employed by the auctioneers. We however, do not follow the two cars but continue until level with the entrance to the marquee. At this point the shot ends. I imagine then that we would reverse (we have driven past the turn off for parking after all) and find a place to park the car.

The shot is filmed from a third car following the two in front making the viewer feel as if they are in fact driving this third car. However, I almost felt like a ghost[23] observing what was going on as I did not feel as if I really belonged to the film. We for example do not park as the other cars do but run the risk of irritating others by blocking the drive to take a peek into the marquee. The dissolve at the beginning of the film cleverly engenders a feeling of curiosity and an empowering masculinist gaze. We feel as if we are a butler (like Mr Stevens) looking through a key-hole and take much pleasure in our voyeuristic consumption of the place (Rose 1993). This curiosity, pleasure and gaze is sustained when the dissolve is complete as the bends in the drive-way together with the trees and foliage obscure our view of what is ahead[24].

The haunting sound track which put me in mind of a water-wheel makes use of harps and a string orchestra and continues from the opening credits throughout this series of shots (and indeed the whole of the film). A woman (who we later learn is Miss Kenton) half way through the shot begins to read a letter, "Dear Mr Stevens....." We learn from her narration that Lord Darlington has died (we presume he is the previous proprietor of

[23] Perhaps the ghost of Lord Darlington.

[24] The credits continue half-way through this shot. We see the names of actors, the title of the film and then the observation that the film is based on the novel by Kazuo Ishiguro.

the house shown) and that his heirs have put it up for sale. However, because no-one wants to have the burden of maintaining it, the woman is horrified to learn that it will be demolished and its stone sold on to builders.

Merchant Ivory/Columbia (re)produce a classically landscaped scene. All of what we see (the drive, the deer and specially positioned trees) is designed to construct a particular field of vision, one which informs us that we are very likely to shortly encounter an old country house (Daniels 1993). However, unlike the drive at Pemberley we quickly learn that this house and estate have hit upon hard times. The climate is grim, the drive is not well kept and the grass does not have the precision of the lawns at Pemberley and in some places is merely mud. When we do eventually see the house it is no surprise at all to see that the windows are boarded up and/or the news conveyed in Miss Kenton's letter. However, the cars and their passengers and the auction, auctioneers' staff and marquee do seem incongruous and a contrast to the very fine architecture and elegance of the hall.

Merchant Ivory's and Columbia's (re)production of the UK here corroborates Australian tourists' imagined geographies of wealthy, upper-class living in the UK. The iconography that they utilize to construct this geography is similar to that which we see in *Pride & Prejudice* (discussed previously) and is very much the stuff of Australian tourists' imagined geographies. And, despite the grim weather, grim circumstances and lugubrious accompanying soundtrack, it is also very much what Australian tourists described as being attractive to them. One of the Australian tourists described *Remains of the Day* as,

> "beautiful. A very depressing film, but you know, the homes again, and the garden and the fields, beautiful. If you take away the sad story, I mean, the UK is beautiful, no it is really lovely" (female, 51-60, 1st generation - Poland, travelled previously).

The last night of the conference - comprises a series of seven shots which take 75 seconds in time and cut from one to another. The setting is inside Darlington Hall and two rooms there; a dining room and hall-way. Mr Stevens' father has taken ill and it is

the final night of the conference. A fine dinner is begin held for the conference delegates (who are all white and mainly men) and a very formal occasion; the men wear white tie and tails and the women wear elegant evening dresses and expensive jewellery. The meal has been completed and the men are sucking on cigars and supping fine desert wines.

The first shot pans on a waiter who moves with much haste to Mr Stevens who is unable to acknowledge him properly because of the occasion. Whilst this is happening, the third shot shows Lord Darlington at the splendid dining table speaking in response to the American congressman's (Mr Lewis') earnest remarks. After congratulating Lord Darlington on his hospitality, Mr Lewis to his colleagues' annoyance has proposed that politics be undertaken by professional politicians and not amateurs. He is also suspicious of Lord Darlington's Nazi sympathies. Lord Darlington does not wish to engage in argument but presses for honour, justice and goodness rather than greedy power politics. Mr Stevens is given a message by the waiter which we presume relates to his ailing father and which appears to unmove him. His face betrays no emotion whatsoever (as is customary for Mr Stevens). Mr Stevens knows that he simply must remain in the room. The final shot of the sequence cuts to Miss Kenton waiting for Mr Stevens in the hall-way. We see an oak stairway, fine stucco work on the wall, elegant lamps, a floral display, paintings and china. Miss Kenton is shortly joined by Mr Stevens who has managed to exit at the earliest appropriate opportunity. Miss Kenton announces to him that his father died four minutes ago. After some consternation, Mr Stevens advises Miss Kenton that he will return to work and see his father shortly (and that that would be as his father would have wished). Miss Kenton offers to shut the dead man's eyes.

Merchant Ivory/Columbia (re)produce an interior dripping with Lord Darlington's (and others') wealth and power. The dining hall is resplendent with its master paintings, marble pillars, mirrors, silver-ware, crystal, candle-sticks, starched linens and table-ware. Lord Darlington's power is further evidenced by his hosting such an important function

which is to have an international impact, by his having one man who deals with his every personal need and a large waiting staff whose sole purpose is to behave in the exact way he wishes and to realize the operation of his large hall and its functions. Most of the other men too in this scene exert power over other people. Most of Lord Darlington's (there is no Lady Darlington) international guests are men who are presumably invited because they are in position of power in their own countries to bring about what Lord Darlington wants[25].

Few Australian tourists talked about interiors when describing their imagined geographies of the UK so it is difficult to know whether the geography (re)produced here corroborates what they thought[26]. However, like the manners and language of the characters in *Pride & Prejudice*, the people (re)produced here; host, guests and waiting staff and employ a highly affective, stylized and formal way of communicating with one another. People do not reveal how they really feel in their speech, appearance or behaviour. Lord Darlington for example does not betray his anger at Mr Lewis' remarks and Mr Stevens betrays no emotion whatsoever when told his father has died. The people (re)produced here also play the part appropriated to them by their birth and/or their employment. As discussed earlier on during the analysis of shots from *Pride & Prejudice*, some Australians found this to be intriguing, whilst others were more disturbed by the injustice and unfairness of the power relations necessitated by this, one tourist commented that,

> "and you can think well, what a horrible class structured society and how could you ever live there....." (female, 60+, 1st trip).

The ending scene - constitutes one shot which lasts for 45 seconds. It follows a scene where an older Mr Lewis, (ironically, the new proprietor of Darlington Hall) and Mr

[25] His head of waiting staff too is a man.

[26] One tourist however, did comment on how English furniture was superior to that manufactured in Australia, "even you know our furniture, if we can afford to buy any new furniture now it's more of a English style furniture you know, or even little statues that you see, you know yes it is. The Australian things here are terribly, I don't know what kind of a word to use, not common, we haven't got anything, you know what I mean, this might sound very horrible to you but we don't have anything, there's only the Aboriginal art which I don't like that at all....." (female, 51-60, 1st generation - Poland, travelled previously).

Stevens catch a pigeon which has become trapped in one of the rooms. Mr Lewis catches it in the fireplace and releases it outside from a window. Mr Stevens shuts the window and the final shot begins by depicting a reflection of the Hall in the window which eventually becomes the real Hall as the background fades away. The camera like the pigeon soars into the sky looking back at the Hall.

The shot depicts a moment in time a little ahead of the opening scene. We look down onto the lawn which has been disrupted by the marquee, the auction and the cars. No people appear in the shot which has presumably been taken from a helicopter or small aeroplane and is the direct opposite of the establishing shots analyzed by Higson (1984) and referred to in Chapter Two where there is a move from the general to the particular as space becomes impregnated with increasing narrative significance and dramatic purpose and where place is created from space. Its operation and function are also in direct opposition to the opening scene (and even the weather is more clement). We thus take our leave of Darlington Hall and its icons of wealth which include; its lawns, orangery, church, gardens, drive, lake and stables. The shot ends by showing most of the Hall's park and some of the surrounding (supposedly Oxfordshire) Somerset countryside and is accompanied by the haunting music we heard at the beginning of the film.

The UK (re)produced here is again wealthy and powerful (albeit not as wealthy and powerful as *Pride & Prejudice*'s Pemberley). The place as far as we can see is highly contrived to show others that the proprietor of Darlington Hall is an important person. The overhead shot reveals how carefully the landscape has been organized to do this and to afford the Hall's occupants the most painterly and classical views from the house. We can also see many of the icons associated with upper-class living in a country house. Darlington Hall is endowed with an orangery, stables, ornamental lake and its own church which is not only autobiographical of its owner, (who is rich and thinks him or herself to be more special than others) but importantly (re)produces meanings about himself, the British people and the UK more generally and which corroborate what Australian tourists said about their imagined geographies of upper-class UK.

Television Film and Experienced Geographies of Place

This part of the chapter extends Chapter Six's examination of how tourists' imagined geographies of the places map onto their experienced geographies of them and as such mitigates the small voice given to experienced geographies of the UK in the previous chapter. In order to do this I employed an auto-ethnographic approach (discussed in more detail in Chapter Four) and document a limited, specific and partial story of how my own imagined geographies of the places (re)produced by *Heartbeat*, *Pride & Prejudice* and *Remains of the Day* mapped onto my experienced geography of them. This part of the chapter furthermore explores how *Heartbeat*, *Pride & Prejudice* and *Remains of the Day* (re)produce the places that they actually depict and analyzes visitor figures relating to these places which demonstrate how their tele-filmic appearance has made them significantly more attractive to people.

Heartbeat

As described earlier, *Heartbeat* is a long running series (which was first broadcast in the UK during 1992) and which continues to be broadcast in Australia, here and elsewhere[27]. It is because of this, that its relationship with people, place and tourism is a more mature one than those relating to *Pride & Prejudice* and *Remains of the Day*. As such, *Heartbeat* and Goathland continue to attract more academic (Phillips & Fish forthcoming; Phillips *et al* 1999; Mordue 1999; Tooke & Baker 1996) and popular attention. They also attract more attention from this part of the chapter.

Since the first screening of *Heartbeat* on television visitor figures to Goathland, *Heartbeat's* main location have increased significantly (Tooke & Baker 1996)[28] [29]. Table

[27] *Heartbeat* is screened in 34 other overseas countries (Breakell 1998).
[28] *Heartbeat* was first screened in the UK in 1992.

7.5 details visitor numbers to Goathland before and following the first screenings of *Heartbeat* on television.

Table 7.5: Goathland Visitor Figures 1991-1993

Visitor type	1991	1993	Difference	Difference %
Car Visitors	286 500	310 000	23 500	8%
Coach Visitors	25 000	94 500	69 500	278%
Rail Visitors	28 000	76 000	48 000	171%
Total Visitors	339 500	480 500	141 000	41%

Source: NYMNP (1994).

Although a difference between 1989 and 1991 is not provided, and a previous rate of increase does not exist to compare with it, the figures in Table 7.5 demonstrate an obvious increase in visitors to Goathland which correlates with *Heartbeat*'s first screenings on television. The actual rate of growth is of particular significance too; the volume of visitors to Goathland grew (and continues to demonstrate growth) at a much higher rate than the NYMNP as a whole which remained static overall during the same period of time (NYMNP 1994). Traffic data additionally reveals how Goathland experienced a significant increase in visitors following the repeat of programmes from series 1 and 2 which were screened in 1995 where it was estimated that 1.1 million

[29] Between five and seven of the 10 days needed to film an episode of *Heartbeat* are spent on location in and around Goathland. The filming of *Heartbeat* in Goathland has created a boost for the local economy, earning revenue for the local people employed in the series as extras or assistants to the crew. 38% of residents reported that they had benefited financially from filming in Goathland, 21% that their property had been used by YTV's film crew and 46% that they had been employed as extras (YHTB & NYMNP 1997). Everyone connected with YTV has a commitment to supporting the local trade and purchases supplies and accommodation within the village as much as possible. (Re)producing Goathland into Aidensfield however is disruptive and requires much tolerance on behalf of the residents who regularly find the local pub has been renamed, that the yellow lines outside houses have been painted over and that the local garage has extended its service to include funeral direction as well as serving petrol. Traffic also has to be halted during shooting which needs not only the co-operation of residents, visitors and people driving through but also the real North Yorkshire Police as officers are drafted in from local stations to keep the traffic moving around the action. YTV pays filming fees to the Highways Agency and the Duchy of Lancaster which owns the village common and £5 000 each year to the village itself. Since the production of the first series, filming in the village has lost its novelty with people, only 29% of residents

visitors came to Goathland making it the most visited destination in the National Park during 1995. *Heartbeat* was isolated as being a significant factor in this increase in visitor volume (YHTB & NYMNP 1997). 27% of visitors also recorded that they went to Goathland as a result of *Heartbeat* in 1993 and as such was the most frequently cited reason in a visitor survey. They also described using a range of information sources to plan their visit, the most notable of which was television (NYMNP 1994).

Whilst tourism is not a new phenomenon in Goathland, the increase in visitor figures associated with *Heartbeat* continues to have both positive and negative impacts upon Goathland's economic, physical, social and cultural structures. Although some have suggested that economic benefits derived from *Heartbeat* are felt more in the neighbouring towns of Pickering and Whitby (YHTB & NYMNP 1997), positive impacts are more usually associated with Goathland's economy and an increase in the generation of tourist related income, the development of tourist related business and employment opportunities which are recognized to have a strong correlation with *Heartbeat* (YHTB & NYMNP 1997)[30]. However, it is the negative impacts which have attracted most attention. Negative impacts usually occur when places do not have the carrying capacity[31] to cope with large increases in visitor figures. Goathland clearly has not had the carrying capacity to cope with the huge increase in visitor figures prompted by *Heartbeat* as is evidenced by the negative, "Heart Attack" (Sumerskill 1998, p36) impacts experienced by the village which include; parking problems, vehicular congestion, the erosion of common-land by cars and pedestrians, litter, residents' loss of privacy[32], restricted access to their own and local facilities, a perceived loss of property values, difficulties in resident and visitor relations (including the residents' wanting

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said that they enjoyed watching the filming whilst more expressed concerns relating to restriction of their movement (YHTB & NYMNP 1997).

[30] Out of the 60 businesses currently operating in Goathland, 21 derive business directly from tourists, (19 tourist accommodation facilities and two visitor attractions), 20 derive business indirectly from tourists (11 catering/licensed establishments and five retail outlets) and 13 businesses are not tourism related (10 farming operations and three other agricultural related organizations. Details relating to the six other kinds of businesses operating in Goathland were not provided.

[31] See Fletcher (1993a).

visitors to understand that Goathland is more than just *Heartbeat*), a fundamental change in the atmosphere of the village (in part caused by the solutions to the problems - kerbing and yellow lines) and, a more general loss of identity (West 1999; YHTB 1998a; YHTB & NYMNP 1997)[33].

Despite discussion with the parish council and Goathland's residents and a series of public meetings organized in conjunction with the NYMNP, as visitor figures have increased, negative impacts have been felt more keenly and less tolerated (Wainwright 1994; Eason & Jones 1994). There has been a shift from people being in favour or neutral about the issue of filming to being generally neutral or against filming (YHTB & NYMNP 1997). More recently, villagers have even been reported as describing their village as being 'raped' and planning to sabotage future filming unless YTV helps to restore the village to its pre-*Heartbeat* condition (Sumerskill 1998).

Those that have been attracted to tour Goathland because of *Heartbeat* have furthermore been found to not be as welcomed and to demonstrate characteristics peculiar to them and distinct from other tourists to the area (Breakell 1995; Sumerskill 1998)[34]. *Heartbeat* tourists for example are more likely to be on a first visit to Goathland. Their visit is usually part of a longer holiday booked well in advance but only planned a few days prior to its occurring. They travel both independently and on organized tours and a high proportion arrive in Goathland by train. They also stay for the shortest period of time, two hours and seventeen minutes, (perhaps because they give up looking for the intangible Aidensfield) as opposed to an average of two hours and fifty minutes and are more likely to be staying in small serviced accommodation facilities and/or holiday cottages in Scarborough, York and Whitby (NYMNP 1994)[35]. As Table 7.6

[32] Because many of the residents' homes face onto the much trampled common, some have relocated their living rooms to the back of houses in order to maintain their private living space as a "back region" (Mordue 1999).

[33] See also Wainwright (1994) and Eason & Jones (1994).

[34] Sumerskill (1998) refers to them as the "tea and pee brigade"(p36) for example.

[35] This is corroborated by Mordue (1999) who similarly delineates two types of Goathland tourist. One type (who are referred to as guests) are described as being pre-dominantly middle-class, as staying in the village's hôtels and guest houses and visiting in order to experience the scenery and atmosphere of the village and its surrounding area. The vast majority of the other type, the *Heartbeat* tourists are described

demonstrates, *Heartbeat* tourists are also of a lower socio-economic background than other visitors to the National Park and the UK more generally.

Table 7.6: Socio-economic background of *Heartbeat* tourists

Day Visitors	AB	C1	C2	D	E	Total
To Goathland	19	35	32	10	4	100
To National Park	20	38	28	10	3	100
within UK	19	28	26	18	9	100

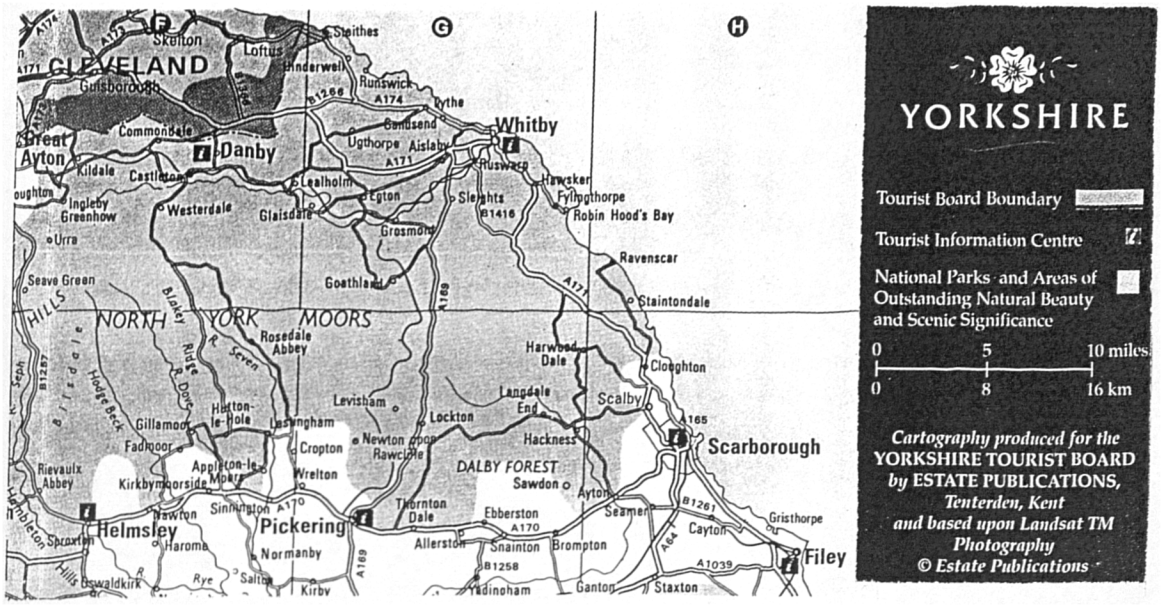
Source: Breakell (1995).

Touring *Heartbeat*

In order to examine how my imagined geography of the places (re)produced in *Heartbeat* mapped onto my experienced geography of them, I utilized an auto-ethnographic approach and undertook a site visit to Goathland which is illustrated in Figure 7.1 on a week-end in October 1997[36]. The parish of Goathland has a population of approximately 444 and is situated in the North Yorkshire Moors National Park (NYMNP 1994; Breakell 1998). It is accessed by road from the A159 which runs between Whitby and Norton, and the North Yorkshire Moors Railway which runs between Whitby and Pickering. It has been popular with visitors for many years because of its attractive geography.

as being day trippers who stay or reside outside the area and who tour the village centre only. The two types of tourist are also understood to exert minor and major impacts on the village respectively and are associated with Urry's (1990a) romantic and collective gazes respectively.

Figure 7.1: Goathland, North Yorkshire



My imagined geography of the place (like the Australian tourists in Chapter Six) had been entirely derived from glimpses of *Heartbeat* on the television and some tourism promotional practice. In contrast to the Australian tourists however, I had expected a small, ordinary bleak village which I would not particularly like. My imagined geography of Goathland's surrounding countryside and the moors were derived from my experience of other moor-land and Emily Brontë's (1988 [1847]) novel, *Wuthering Heights* and film adaptations of it. I also associated it with the Brady and Hindley murders and as such expected it to be barren, bleak, cold, windswept, eerie, threatening but possibly a rather romantic place. My actual experienced geography of these places were in contrast very pleasant and quite a surprise to me. The drive to Goathland was delightful (it was also a bright sunny day). The moors were vast and quite magnificent and I liked the sheep, cattle grids and the huge white protective domes of Fylingdale's early warning station. I followed a turn off from the A169 which ran over a river and past The North Yorkshire Moors Historical Railway Trust into an inviting green and

[36] Goathland features on both the BTA's (Liddall 1996) and the YHTB's (1996) movie maps. See

hilly Goathland which I found to be very picturesque with its marvellous moors, pretty green dales, woods and water-falls. The village had evolved along its main road and was surrounded each side by green common-land. At the far end of the village I found my bed & breakfast[37] opposite the squat Victorian church.

In the evening, I had a meal at the Goathland Hôtel which plays the part of the Aidensfield Arms, the local for many of *Heartbeat*'s villagers[38]. It is one of the most obvious *Heartbeat* signifiers and much visited and gazed upon by *Heartbeat* tourists. Bar staff there wore "Aidensfield Arms" T-shirts and, *Heartbeat* postcards were available for sale to visitors. There were also many framed photographs of *Heartbeat* characters hung on the interior walls. Judging the real against the reel made the place felt quite odd for me (in the way anticipated by Aitken & Zonn (1993) and discussed in Chapter Two). Whilst Aidensfield had 'leaked' itself over Goathland, it was not like the Aidensfield of *Heartbeat* because it was bereft of the right time, (the 1960's), and Aidensfield's characters; Nick, Ventriss and Greengrass. And, it was also not really like the Goathland Hôtel either because of the Aidensfield paraphernalia everywhere. On my way back to my bed and breakfast, I walked by Goathland's small garage which also appears in the series. It rather confusingly displayed the sign, "Mostyn's Garage" as it does when used for filming and had a display of 1960's vehicles and Aidensfield Police's motorbike in its forecourt and again, seemed neither like Mostyn's nor a real Goathland garage.

In the morning I visited St Mary's, Goathland's nineteenth century parish church[39]. Inside, the new visitor book revealed that most visitors to the church were from the UK. I then visited the new Goathland Exhibition Centre which is divided into one exhibition focusing on the geography and history of Goathland and another on *Heartbeat.* The receptionist said that the museum hosted many visitors from Australia and the US and

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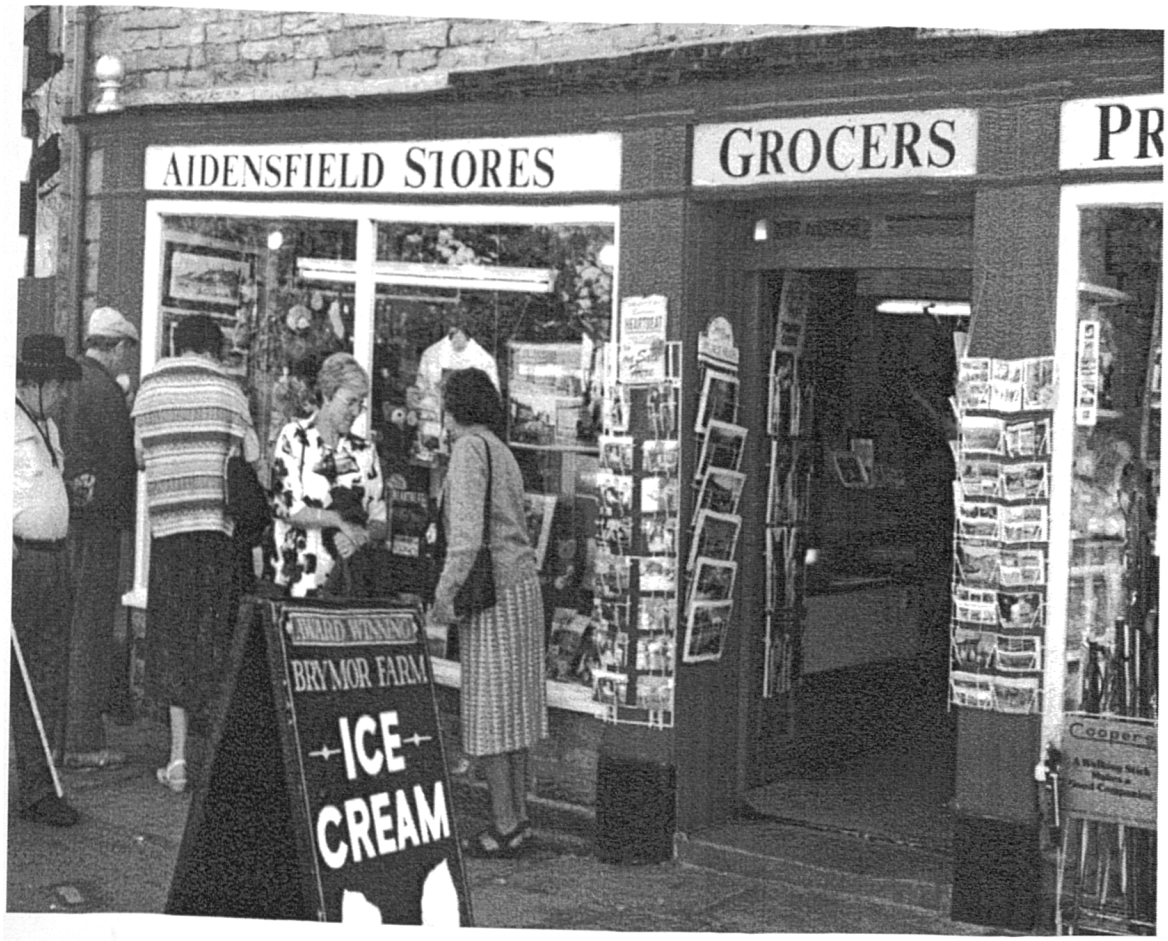
Appendices D and E respectively.

[37] The second oldest site in Goathland dating back to the 12th century.

[38] External shots are still filmed here (the pub signs are exchanged) whereas internal shots are now filmed on a set.

felt that overseas visitors were mainly from these two countries. The visitor book corroborated what she said and contained many entries from Australian visitors. I then made my way past some late nineteenth and early twentieth century houses (which appear regularly in *Heartbeat*) to a row of shops which are located in the village centre. These shops appear in the opening credits of the series (discussed earlier here). The main village shop and post office depicted in Figures 7.2 and 7.3 have recently renamed themselves the "Aidensfield Stores" and "Aidensfield Post Office" which has generated much concern and debate amongst Goathland residents.

Figure 7.2: The "Aidensfield" Stores



[39] Its stained glass window depicted three local saints, one of whom is St Aiden from which the *Heartbeat*

Although I felt more satisfied at having recognized and 'collected' these buildings than any others, I felt rather annoyed and perturbed by the way they had copied themselves from YTV's (re)productions or copies of real shops[40]. The shop and post office were thus neither the reel shops of Aidensfield, nor the real shops of Goathland and rather a confusing fusion of both (Phillips & Fish forthcoming). However, these Aidensfield signifiers did seem to be more popular with others, were much photographed and a honey-pot for visitors[41].

Figure 7.3: "Aidensfield" Post Office

village name "Aidensfield" is derived.

[40] Suggestive of the simulacrum society proposed by Baudrillard (1983).

Whilst some like Feifer (1985) might argue that Goathland's (re)production by *Heartbeat* and its resultant hybrid identity might be perfect for *Heartbeat* 'post' tourists who might understand that there is no 'authentic' tourist experience to be had and be content to enjoy the simulacra'ed sites, many like myself seemed to find the experience of being a *Heartbeat* tourist rather disturbing. I walked up and down the village collecting places that I recognized from the series, bought some *Heartbeat* souvenirs, took photographs, watched other tourists, had tea and did not really know quite what to do next. Other tourists too bought souvenirs, took photographs, ate ice-creams, watched other tourists and drank and ate in the tea shops. I found the whole experience quite dissatisfying and as a *Heartbeat* tourist felt aimless. Although I had managed to locate important signifiers from Aidensfield and had captured them on photographic film I did not feel any sense of being in Aidensfield (or Goathland) and certainly was not able to track down the essence of *Heartbeat*. I was not alone in feeling like this.

> "I expected to come here and see it how you see it on the TV, you know. But things look different, there's lots of things missing..... It's nice, I like the place [but] we expected it to be more or less exactly the same. It should be more 60's like really..... I [wanted] to see things like the police station and the Aidensfield Arms so you could go in and have a sit down" (A *Heartbeat* tourist from Teeside quoted in Mordue 1999, p27)

By late afternoon, the village was brimming with people of all ages. Cars (and a few coaches) were parked everywhere; on the common, in the road and in the official and not so official car parks. Ironically, the proliferation of tourists seemed to take away the atmosphere that *Heartbeat* (re)produces, thus ruining one of the key resources upon which tourism in Goathland is based (Cater 1995). The highlight for me was deciding to tour the place in the way I wanted to, although I only had an hour in which to do this. I thus got off the village's main road and explored roads and paths leading from it and went for a walk to one of the village's waterfalls, the Mallyan Spout.

[41] They also had much *Heartbeat* memorabilia for sale within them.

The mapping of my imagined geography onto my experienced geography of Goathland did in fact afford me much pleasure as I found Goathland and the surrounding countryside to be much more attractive than the bleak imagined geography I held of it before travelling there (which had been constructed in the main from my watching *Heartbeat*). However, whilst I had found it interesting recognizing specific locations used for *Heartbeat* I found the experience to be somewhat peculiar, dissatisfying and muddling not so much because I was not able to locate an 'authenticity' (because I had) but rather because I was not able to encounter the real Aidensfield which had blurred and (re)produced Goathland in a similar way to that described by Hanna (1996) in his examination of the relationship between Cicely, the fictional Alaskan town in *Northern Exposure* and Roslyn the 'real' town in Washington State where *Northern Exposure* is filmed (see Chapter Two). It was rather my accidental experience of authentic sites not obviously connected with the *Heartbeat* series which eventually afforded me the most pleasure as a tourist and thus reverberated what one of the Australian tourists had said to me about her trip to Goathland,

> "it was interesting, but I think I got just as big a reaction driving along there before we actually turned off the main road to go down there, going through those Yorkshire Moors, that desolation. It was very cold and wet and windy and I said, 'oh you know, I can just imagine some of the things you've read about in books or, *Wuthering Heights* and things like that" (female, 51-60, 1st trip).

Pride & Prejudice

> **NT: "OK, so which films do you think are having the most significant impact on Australians travelling to the UK at the moment?"**
>
> Donna Wales (BTA Sydney's Head of Media Relations): "films or television?"
>
> **NT: "em, both"**
>
> Donna Wales: "well I think definitely, without a doubt, it would have to be *Pride & Prejudice*".

Since the screening of *Pride & Prejudice* on television both in the UK and overseas, visitor figures to its principal locations have increased significantly. Figure 2.1 depicts Lyme Park, Disley, Stockport in Cheshire which stars as Mr Darcy's impressive seat,

Pemberley. Lyme Park which is managed by the National Trust hosted an additional 2 000 visitors during the weekend after the programme was first broadcast in the UK which represented a 35% increase on 1994 figures. By January 1996, visitor figures had experienced an increase of 11 000 and rose overall by 178% from 32 852 in 1994 to 91 437 in 1995 as a direct result of what has been described as 'Darceymania' (Crombie 1996; Elliott 1996). Interest furthermore continued into 1996 with a 42% increase in visitor figures over 1995 and as Chapter Two revealed realized the largest increase in visitor figures at any British country house open to the public[42].

Sudbury Hall, Sudbury in Derbyshire was the location for Pemberley's interiors and has also experienced an increase in visitor figures (see Appendix C)[43]. The house is managed by the National Trust and is open to the public from March to November. As Table 7.7 demonstrates, visitor figures in 1996 increased by 59% on the previous year.

Table 7.7: Visitor Figures to Sudbury Hall

Season	Hall	Museum of Childhood
April - Sept 1994	39 960	54 385
April - October 1995	40 623	50 631
March - October 1996	64 670	71 210

Source: Holderness (1997).

Belton House, Grantham in Lincolnshire also features as Rosings, Lady Catherine de Bourgh's (Mr Darcy's aunt) house and is the focus of the clergyman, Mr Collins' frequent boasting (see Appendix C)[44]. The house is also managed by the National Trust and open to the public in April through to October each year. It also experienced huge

[42] Some allege that a large proportion majority of the increase in visitor figures here, were women motivated by in particular, the scene where Darcy plunges into the lake and encounters Elizabeth Bennet shortly afterwards (Crosbie 1996).

[43] Sudbury Hall is an architecturally intriguing 17th century Stuart house built by George Vernon and houses intricate wood carvings by Grinling Gibbons and a magnificent carved staircase by Edward Pierce.

increases in visitors which are understood by the National Trust to be a result of its appearance in *Pride & Prejudice*. Total group visitor numbers increased by 69% and tour operators visiting the property increased by a dramatic 283%. Table 7.8 demonstrates the increases in group visits.

Table 7.8: Group Visits to Belton House

	No of Group Visits		Visitor Numbers	
Month	1995	1996	1995	1996
April	7	11	20 633	18 915
May	7	24	35 405	33 422
June	11	21	51 023	52 171
July	10	19	72 740	70 378
August	15	11	94 747	92 053
September	23	15	110 239	110 931
October	3	6	125 795	121 271

Source: Hook (1996).

Visitor figures to Lacock village furthermore demonstrated a gradual increase up to 1995/6 (and were 52 934 for 1993/4, 54 768 for 1994/5 and 55 413 for 1995/6) and a dramatic increase following its screen performance in *Pride & Prejudice* to 64 632 in 1996/7 (Church 1998).

The visitor figures for all of these places (like those referred to in Chapters One, Two and Three) clearly demonstrate that they become far more popular following their (re)production by the BBC and their appearance on television. Unlike Goathland however, these National Trust properties (like Dyrham Park which is referred later on here) have had the carrying capacity to manage these huge increases in visitor figures which in turn are understood to have brought about highly positive benefits associated

[44] Belton House is a fine restoration house with high quality decorations and furnishings surrounded by spectacular rising park-land.

with economics (Crombie 1996; Lennox-Boyd 1996). The places themselves (apart from Lacock Village) are also not inhabited by people other than those employed by the National Trust and so have not experienced the negative socio-cultural impacts that Goathland residents are more familiar with. The places here have also in contrast to Goathland, undergone little topographical change. What changes have occurred have usually been temporary and include exhibitions relating to the serial and promotional practice which incorporates stills and speech from *Pride & Prejudice*. The only permanent change I discovered was, 'The Pemberley Trail'[45], (see Appendix N) which is discussed in more detail in the next part of the chapter.

Touring *Pride & Prejudice*

In order to investigate how my imagined geography of the places (re)produced in *Pride & Prejudice* mapped onto my experienced geography of them, I utilized an auto-ethnographic approach and undertook two site visits; one to Lyme Park née Pemberley, (one of the most obvious locations in *Pride & Prejudice*) and, Lacock Village née Meryton.

My imagined geography of Lyme Park was very grand and entirely sourced by the series of shots depicting Pemberley discussed in the last part of the chapter. I expected to be moved (in much the same way as Elizabeth Bennet is when she views it for the first time) because of its relationship with *Pride & Prejudice*. I also looked forward to seeing the magnificent lake into which Darcy plunges (and which also featured in the series of shots discussed in the last part of the chapter) and expected to sense a feeling of pleasure and possible excitement. I thus visited Lyme Park[46], Disley, Stockport, Cheshire in March 1997 (which as described earlier in Chapter Four was a very cold, wet and windy day)[47]. Lyme is the largest house in Cheshire, erected from stone and set in a huge park

[45] A trail of sights used for filming around the estate, with permanent sign-posting and accompanying printed guide which retailed for 30p.
[46] Lyme is an old word for boundary.
[47] On the way up to Lyme I stopped off at Matlock Bath, Derbyshire where I found movie maps for Derbyshire detailing television and movie film locations in the county at the TIC there.

of 1377 acres with a boundary of nine miles. It was home to the Legh family from 1398 and given to the National Trust in 1946. In 1725, the Italian architect Giacome Leoni was invited to Lyme to modernize the house and designed the very splendid west front facing the lake which features in the shots discussed earlier and depicted in Figure 2.1.

I began my visit at the small information centre which had posters hanging up depicting the BBC TV's Elizabeth Bennet and Mr Darcy. There was various information available including brochures detailing 'The Pemberley Trail' (described earlier) which takes in many of the scenes from the series of shots I analyzed earlier and is 1½ miles long. I decided to undertake the trail (and encountered no-one else whilst doing it) but found it to be very poorly signed, described and mapped. As a consequence, I managed to stray from it on more than one occasion. I walked through many of the places depicted in the shots analyzed here but did not recognize any of them at the time. However, I still anticipated and felt quite excited about experiencing the highlight of the tour, the lake by which Mr Darcy disrobes and takes his plunge and, expected to experience similar kinds of feelings to those I had experienced when viewing this scene on television. I was however, very disappointed to find that the lake was the scruffy little muddy pond depicted in Figure 7.4. It furthermore had no evocations of handsome disrobing men, romance and appropriate accompanying sound-tracks. It seemed so different in fact from the lake of *Pride & Prejudice* that I thought I had gone wrong again with the map. I had therefore continued to try and find the lake of my imagined geography.

I thought that the trail in general was very disappointing and had probably been developed rather too quickly. I felt that it served simply a marketing ploy and/or another way of getting visitors into the estate (when the house and gardens closed in the winter) and keeping the house and gardens congestion-free at other times.

Figure 7.4: Darcy's Lake

Although I was not able to view the house in the same place as the Gardeners and Elizabeth Bennet, I was able to take in Leoni's stunning garden front discussed in the second series of shots and depicted in Figure 2.1. I had thought that seeing it would move me in some way which related to my having seen *Pride & Prejudice* - it did not! Whilst I enjoyed taking in the beauty and splendour of this 18th century front (and the gardens and estate), I was not aware that my having seen it previously on television film made any inter-connection with my feeling. The visit was thus not the moving experience I thought it would be. Whilst the house, gardens and estate were very fine, I did not feel at all excited or moved by seeing any of the places I recognized from *Pride & Prejudice*. As suggested by MacCannell (1996), the marker (television in this case) had distorted the way I was to eventually appreciate this place for real. My feelings were also considerably affected and dampened by the very poor weather described in Chapter Four. I did however, derive much amusement from my disappointment at 'Darcy's Lake' being a pond.

In contrast to my imagined geography of Lyme Park, my imagined geography of Lacock Village was not well defined. I travelled to Lacock Village and Abbey during July 1997,

which appear regularly in *Pride & Prejudice* as Meryton village with little expectation[48]. The Abbey together with the village, Manor Farm and Bewley Common (which date back to the 13th century and have architectural styles which span over 700 years) were donated by Matilda Talbot to the National Trust between 1944 and 1946. When I visited, the whole village seemed to operate as a successful tourist attraction where even small private gardens were open for inspection. Whilst I enjoyed exploring the village, I did not recognize anything from Meryton anywhere and again did not experience any feeling which related to my having seen this place before on television, perhaps because my imagined geography of this place was so ill defined. I went to a shop for some drinks and asked the assistants there whether they felt that more visitors came to Lacock as a result of its appearance in *Pride & Prejudice*. The man there felt Lacock was a popular place to visit in its own right and that it and his shop would be appearing on the television that night in *Pride & Prejudice*'s repeated screening. Seeing Lacock and the shop itself in the evening following the trip did seem good fun after having seen it in the daytime and afforded me more the sort of experience that I thought I would have had when actually visiting these sites for real earlier on (this theme is discussed in more depth in the conclusion).

Remains of the Day

It took four English stately homes; Dyrham Park, Corsham Court, Chippenham, Powderham Castle, Exeter and Badminton House, Gloucestershire to create Darlington Hall on film. However, it was Dyrham Park which was used for the exterior views of the house and which was the most easily identifiable location for Darlington Hall. Dyrham Park is situated in Chippenham, Wiltshire and managed by the National Trust. Following the launch of *Remains of the Day*, visitor figures to Dyrham Park, demonstrated an increase from 67 714 in 1993/1994 to 73 642 in 1994/1995 (Church 1998)[49]. These visitor figures in a similar way to those relating to *Heartbeat* and *Pride &*

[48] They also feature in the motion picture film, *Emma*.

[49] These figures have also been reported as increasing from 45 624 in 1993 to 50 375 in 1994 (Kelly 1996).

Prejudice locations (and those referred to in Chapters One, Two and Three) clearly show how places become more attractive to people following their (re)production by television and film production companies and their screen appearance.

Again, rather more like the places associated with *Pride & Prejudice*, Dyrham Park had the carrying capacity to cope with the increase in visitors to the Park which was seen by the National Trust in terms of a positive benefit (no-one except for National Trust staff lives within the Park). The increase in visitors furthermore had not prompted any topographical change whatsoever, although its employment as a location for *Remains of the Day* was referred by some promotional practice produced in the years immediately following its launch.

Touring *Remains of the Day*

In order to examine how my imagined geography of the places (re)produced in *Remains of the Day* mapped onto my experienced geography of them, I utilized an auto-ethnographic approach and undertook a site visit to Dyrham Park in July 1997. The source for my imagined geography of Dyrham Park was entirely derived from the Darlington Hall which features in *Remains of the Day* and as such was very attractive and impressive, although not as grand as Lyme Park.

Dyrham Park comprises a house, orangery, stables, parish church and garden. It lies to the east of Bristol and is managed by the National Trust. It is a fine William & Mary house built for William Blathwayt, Secretary of State to William III at a time when England was at war with France and when there were bitter divisions between Protestants and Catholics in England. Blathwayt married Mary Wynter in 1686 and rebuilt the house in two separate stages between 1691 and 1702. The house remained in the family until 1954 when it was transferred to the National Trust. Its interiors have changed little since the Blathwayt's residence and include collections of Dutch painting and Delftware. However it was the imposing Italianate great east front designed by

Talman, (which features in the opening and ending series of shots analyzed here) which I anticipated most.

In order to visit Dyrham Park, one has to undertake the drive depicted in the opening shots. I thus made my way along the gravelly drive which winds its way in the cleft of a valley through a very green landscaped and wooded deer park, past a large statue of Neptune on the right. The meandering route seemed to anticipate (like myself) something quite grand and straightens towards the end to afford the visitor an impressive vista of the house and its orangery. It actually did feel quite exciting to be taking this journey because it made its way through a landscape that I found very attractive. It also felt familiar. This time I did feel 'part of the film' (albeit my own) and not like the ghostly presence described earlier as I drove into the National Trust's car park which is situated exactly where the auction marquee and cars were in the film's opening shot.

It was because my imagined geography of Dyrham Park was entirely sourced by my having seen the film that I expected to see a large impressive house, stunning gardens and glittering interiors. However, despite its imposing front, Dyrham Park is surprisingly small (and constituted two smaller houses joined in the centre by a series of rooms) and not large enough to contain Lord Darlington's sumptuous suite of drawing and meeting rooms. Whilst it was very interesting to look around the rooms and their collections of art, furniture, china and glass it did feel a little disappointing not to see Lord Darlington's magnificent interiors together with Mr Stevens, Miss Kenton and the rest of the waiting staff. The literature available for tourists furthermore, (and surprisingly for me) did not make any reference to its star rôle in *Remains of the Day*. The National Trust staff too did not refer to it although some acknowledged that visitor figures to the Park had increased since its appearance in the film.

It did however, feel special to see the orangery, stables and church, to walk by the ornamental lake and to take in the unspoiled scenery as far as the eye could see (which appears in the final shot of the film described here) because these places were very

attractive in their own right. Apart from my drive to the house however, I did not experience any great sense of pleasure or any other feeling which connected with my having already seen this place on television and, therefore echoed the idea discussed in Chapter Two where markers of tourist sites can actually generate more satisfaction than experience of what they actually represent (Rojek 1997).

Conclusion

> ".....the visual media of today appear to construct anticipation and allure that induces people to travel. In the case of major motion pictures, the constructed gaze is not a sales strategy for tourism promotion but an entertainment ploy where storylines, underlying themes, exciting events, spectacular scenery, and characters create hallmark events. These events create exotic worlds that do not exist in reality but can be recreated through a visit to the locations(s) where they were filmed" (Riley *et al* 1998, p932).

This chapter extended the previous chapter's investigation of processes and practices of tourism consumption and that part of the hermeneutic circle concerned with the consumption of tourism meanings. In contrast to Chapter Six however, it gives voice to my own practice of 'doing' tele-tourism (which is compared and contrasted with the Australians' practice of tele-tourism in the previous chapter) and, emphasizes television film's inter-connection with my *experienced* geography of places.

My critical examination of selected parts from *Heartbeat*, *Pride & Prejudice* and *Remains of the Day* revealed that they have much in common with one another. They were all screened on television mid-evening, at the weekend, during the time before I began my programme of interviews with Australian tourists. *Heartbeat* and *Pride & Prejudice* were screened on Australia's ABC network which, (as Chapters Five and Six revealed) is associated the *British* Broadcasting Corporation, public authority, state, an educated audience and a snob value, whereas *Remains of the Day* was screened on Channel 10. The viewing figures for their screenings revealed that they were all very popular with viewers in the Sydney area. They were all furthermore, particularly popular

with people of 40 years of age and over (thus corroborating the research findings of Chapter Two) which may reflect a preference for more traditional representations of the UK held by this group. They were also more popular with women than men. Ang (1995) has suggested that women's liking for television dramas may be because women are more able to demonstrate an empathy and vicariously identify with the characters and situations portrayed. She also proposes that emotional imagination is a predominantly feminine characteristic. Whilst both male and female Australian tourists demonstrated a strong preference for television drama as opposed to other (tele)filmic material, male tourists demonstrated a strong liking for drama with a criminal theme whereas female tourists demonstrated a liking for costume dramas like *Pride & Prejudice*. This was commented on by the women themselves and the men when speaking about the viewing preferences of their wives or girlfriends. *Heartbeat*, *Pride & Prejudice* and *Remains of the Day* also depict a time in the past, (the 1960's, the early 1800's and the 1930's/1950's respectively) have intriguing plots, a romantic element and powerful sound tracks.

The analysis revealed that *Heartbeat*, *Pride & Prejudice* and *Remains of the Day* (re)produce and circulate a mythologized UK with particular reference to its rurality and, ideological cultural meanings couched in subtle but powerful discourses (in a similar way to the tele-filmic places researched by the geographers of Chapter Two, the tourist brochures discussed in Chapter Three and the BTA's promotional practice discussed in Chapter Five). As such, the geographies (re)produced corroborate the two main types of imagined geographies of the UK related to me by Australian tourists in Chapter Six; that is, attractive but mythologized places in the countryside inhabited by ordinary people and wealthy aristocrats. These geographies were furthermore corroborated despite the appearance of what Australian tourists held to be negative phenomena like for example, poor weather, crime, unfair power relations, tired landscapes, grim circumstances and bleak music. These phenomena seemed less visible to them when incorporated within *Heartbeat*, *Pride & Prejudice* and *Remains of the Day* than other tele-filmic material like

The Bill for example which was associated more with less attractive imagined geographies (see Chapter Six). One tourist commented that,

> "Some of them depict them (*The Bill*); depict the place in a bad way, grey and cold and miserable". (female, 31-40, 1st generation - Spain/France, travelled previously).

My analysis also revealed that *Heartbeat*, *Pride & Prejudice* and *Remains of the Day* (re)produce geographies of the British people which corresponded with Australian tourists' imagined geographies of them. People were thus white, comfortably off or very rich (not poor), living in a patriarchal society with little evidence of children. They were 'very nice' and in the cases of *Pride & Prejudice* and *Remains of the Day* enrol the most exceptionally stylized manners and language which reveal much depth of thought and insight. As such therefore, *Heartbeat*, *Pride & Prejudice* and *Remains of the Day* play an important rôle in the circulation of meanings about the UK more generally and, the UK as a tourist destination more specifically. They also act as powerful 'off' site markers and have an important part to play in the sacralization and development of the UK as a destination (and specific places within it as sites to tour to) (MacCannell 1976) (see Chapter Three).

The places depicted by *Heartbeat*, *Pride & Prejudice* and *Remains of the Day*, (like Holmfirth and those other (television) film locations referred to in Chapters One, Two and Three) have become far more attractive to people following their appearance on screen. The data I presented and analyzed revealed in each case that visits to a variety of sites associated with the two television dramas and televized film demonstrated a significant increase following the appearance of these sites on screen and which have caused impacts on their respective political, economic, socio-cultural and environmental structures. However, because the sites associated with *Pride & Prejudice* and *Remains of the Day* have had the carrying capacity to accommodate the increase in visitors they have only experienced positive impacts. In the case of Goathland however, which experienced a huge increase in visitor figures to a village not designed to be a tourist

attraction, a number of negative impacts have been experienced and continue to be much bemoaned (despite the positive economic impacts experienced there too) (Sumerskill 1998). I thus utilized an auto-ethnographic approach and analyzed how my own imagined geography of the places (re)produced by *Heartbeat*, *Pride & Prejudice* and *Remains of the Day* mapped onto my experienced geography of them. In each case (and in common with the Australian tourists' experience), my imagined geography of the sites was romanticized and very much the stuff of Australian tourists' imagined geographies (and BTA's promotional practice) and entirely derived from watching the places on television and *Heartbeat*, *Pride & Prejudice* and *Remains of the Day* in particular. My own experience of tele-tourism also revealed how my travel intentions in respect of the site visits were framed and motivated by visits to specific sites that I had seen in *Heartbeat*, *Pride & Prejudice* and *Remains of the Day*[50]. Whilst as a researcher, I deliberately intended to construct situations in order to document how my imagined geography of these 'off' site markers mapped onto my experienced geography of them, as a tourist I expected and welcomed the experience of feeling excited and satisfied whilst seeing these television icons. As such, television film anticipated most of my tourism practice before travel. As an antecedent text, it served to establish a set of expectations, anticipated my experience of places whilst there, and provided a framework for an itinerary. Following from Urry (1990a) and (Cloke & Perkins 1998) therefore, television film constituted an important part of a tourism hermeneutic circuit where my embodied tourist gaze was anticipated and mobilized. However, unlike the few Australian tourists of Chapter Six who talked about the sense of pleasure they felt when experiencing places that they recognized from television, this chapter revealed how this process of mapping afforded me a sense of disappointment in each case and was far more complex and complicated than I had originally expected it to be[51]. Watching *Heartbeat*, *Pride & Prejudice* and *Remains of the Day* had (re)produced meanings, understandings and interpretations of their respective locations well before I visited them and, crucially determined, mediated and distorted my actual experience of

[50] Like for example, the lake into which Mr Darcy takes his plunge.
[51] However, Urry (1992b) suggests that this disappointment motivates people to seek new images and places.

them. I was thus not able to find the 'real' (or reel) Aidensfield of *Heartbeat*, the Pemberley of *Pride & Prejudice* and the Darlington Hall of *Remains of the Day* because they did and could not exist off screen minus their setting, props, costume, performance, lighting, camera operation, editing, sound and narrative. My experience was thus not about the recreation of an exotic television world that Riley *et al* (1998) suggested at the beginning of the conclusion here. Any sense of pleasure I experienced was nearly always associated with my experiencing places for their own sake although in the case of Goathland this was confused and marred by the specific (re)productions of Aidensfield within the village. My experienced geography of them therefore did not corroborate my imagined geography of them and/or afford me the more moving experience I had expected and hoped for. Other Australian tourists too, had similar experiences when encountering places that they recognized from tele-filmic material and as one put it,

"the earth doesn't move" (male, 41-50, 1st trip).

I furthermore explored how *Heartbeat*, *Pride & Prejudice* and *Remains of the Day* (re)produced the places that they depict in ways which corresponded to the duration of their exposure on television. The discussion relating to *Heartbeat* and Goathland therefore in particular revealed how television film forms part of a hermeneutic circle which links representations of a tourist destination to the actual tourist experience by creating a set of expectations that the tourist industry has to accommodate (Relph 1976; Goss 1993; Cloke & Perkins 1998). It revealed how ideological meanings about the UK and places (re)produced by *Heartbeat* have mapped onto the (re)production of the places or locations depicted which authenticate the imagery from the series. It was also revealed that this not only had significant consequences for the place itself but was also highly consequential to those who live there as they and meanings about them have become (re)produced and indeed commodified. *Heartbeat* has thus served to unintentionally commodify its location, Goathland and, its people. In so doing, it was revealed how Goathland has become a confusing collage or inauthentic pastiche

dominated by a mixed-media/video audio text where the real converges with the reel (Aitken & Zonn 1993; Kennedy & Lukinbeal 1997).

Similarly to the experience of Australian tourists (see Chapter Six), this chapter also alluded to the sense of pleasure and self-fulfilment I experienced seeing Lacock Village in *Pride & Prejudice* on television following my visit there. I also found seeing Lyme Park when watching *Pride & Prejudice* (in the last set of shots analyzed here) following my site visit very exciting because I had actually walked through the rhododendron groves myself and seen the view over the valley which serves as a backdrop to Darcy in the first three shots. I also really enjoyed watching the 'lake' scene not only because I found the geography (re)produced in these shots very attractive and to correspond with my own imagined geography of the UK but, because I had actually been there and walked around it for myself. However, whilst the research I undertook here has less to say about how and why this is so, it does reveal that the relationship between television film and tourism is not a linear one and one which begins at the point of watching television and ends at the other when actually experiencing the geographies depicted. The relationship is rather circuitous, self perpetuating and transacting and, anticipated earlier by Zonn's (1984) work on transactional theory and media depictions (which was discussed in Chapter Two). The research thus indicates the existence of a hermeneutic circle exclusively concerned with tele-tourism, where tele-tourism meanings are continually produced, consumed and *(re)*produced. This circle of meanings furthermore allows for people's imagined and experienced geographies of both real and reel places to dynamically inter-connect and, to imbue one another with increasing meaning which in turn prompts a variety of feelings ranging from disappointment to pleasure.

Chapter Eight: Concluding Tele-Tourism

Introduction

The Florence depicted in *A Room with a View* and, viewed on television (from video) following my tour there was much more as I thought it would be. It had much in common with my actual experience of it, and the imagined geography I currently hold of Florence following my travel there which is very much about clusters of terracotta-red roofs twinkling with the odd atrium, rusticated campaniles, church towers and spires, sandy-yellow houses, narrow ochre streets, lush green giardini, the river Arno and the Tuscan hills brimming full of olive groves, vineyards, cypresses and fine villas (and described at the beginning of Chapter One: Researching Tele-Tourism).

In contrast to the experience related at the beginning of Chapter One (which revealed how watching *A Room with a View* had spoiled my initial experience of Florence), seeing Florence in *A Room with a View* following my tour of it had the opposite effect and afforded me much pleasure. I enjoyed recognizing palazzi, piazze, chiesae, the duomo, its dome, the campanile, the Torre d' Arnolfo of the Palazzo Vecchio and the Ponte Vecchio; places depicted in the film that I had actually seen and, toured around and within. This pleasure was furthermore, greater than that associated with recognizing places whilst touring Florence following my first viewings of the film. And, whilst I find it difficult to articulate exactly why this is so, I think these feelings probably derived from gazing at places which I found to be visually attractive, recognizing specific places that I had travelled to and being able to situate and understand them and, seeing characters experience the place in ways similar to how I had done. For example, there is a series of shots of Miss Honeychurch talking with George Emerson leaning against a parapet overlooking the river framed in the background by the Palazzo degli Uffizi. I found it quite special to view this scene because it exactly emulated the way I had leant against this same parapet to take in my first view of the river and the Ponte Vecchio.

And, although I watched *A Room with a View* alone, I would have undoubtedly (like some of the Australian tourists referred to in Chapter Six) been proud to inform others that I had been there given the opportunity(!).

This thesis has been concerned with the inter-connections existing between **television film, people** and **place** in the context of **tourism.** It has investigated a disregarded yet very significant field of research and, one which continues to intrigue me. Chapter One revealed how whilst there is empirical and other research which clearly demonstrates that interest about and visits to places increase(s) following their appearance in television and film (and, how this interest is being increasingly capitalized by the tourism industry), that there is a paucity of substantiated academic work relating to *how* and *why* such places become so much more attractive to people, the processes and practices involved and, television film's inter-connection with tourism more generally. This thesis however, has both provided further data which corroborate that places become more attractive to people, and knowledge which redresses these lacunae. And, unlike much other tourism research, it has constituted the collation, presentation, description and analysis of knowledge relating to the *entire* tourism experience which Chapter Two revealed to be the sum of the phenomena associated with the processes and practices that people engage in whilst acting as tourists prior to, during and following their travel from generating places, through transit spaces to destination places (and, the industry that produces the places, people and technologies which allow these phenomena). However, whilst this thesis has explored how and why television film inter-connects with some of these processes and practices, its inter-connection with other processes and practices continues to invite further examination. This chapter thus summarizes the thesis' findings and delineates lacunae which necessitate further research. It also critically appraises the programme of research I have undertaken and draws conclusions in relation to its contribution to the realm of understanding about television film's relationship with tourism more generally. It constitutes three main parts;

- **summarizing the research findings** - this part of the chapter summarizes the programme of research I undertook on *television film's* relationship with tourism practice before, during and following travel and its findings.

- **critical appraisal** - this part of the chapter critically appraises the thesis and the programme of research I undertook. It focuses its arguments around issues relating to the thesis' principle elements which have not only afforded it its strengths but limitations too.

- **television film and tourism** - this part of the chapter investigates the similarities between watching television and "doing" tourism and draws conclusions about television film's inter-connections with tourism more generally.

Summarizing the Research Findings

(Tele)Tourism Before Travel

> "the tourism of the television institution tends to transform all landscapes into places of leisure..... places that we look at, as actual or potential tourists, with television itself acting as a sort of tour operator" (Higson 1987, pp11-12).

Well before tourism can actually be undertaken, people need to be aware of places to tour to and, become aware of them in a variety of ways which may be passive or active and, remembered or not. Whilst Chapters Two and Three revealed that television film is an important and powerful agent in the production and consumption of tourism meanings more generally, and that tele-filmic places have an important and powerful agency in the production and consumption of destination meanings more specifically, my research has not placed an emphasis on how people become initially aware of places and, how their awareness inter-connects with television film. It has however revealed that all the Australians I worked with were aware of the UK and had been aware of it since an

early age. It was probably because of this that they were not able to determine exactly how they first became aware of the UK (as indeed I was not able to with regard to Australia). The thesis has also indicated that the Australians I worked with became aware of specific places within the UK from watching television like for example, Goathland from watching *Heartbeat* and, Yorkshire from watching *All Creatures Great & Small.* Chapter Seven has also indicated how I became aware of all the places of my site visits from seeing them on television, thus corroborating my earlier research which revealed that television film makes people aware of the places shown (Tooke 1994).

The research does, however, place an emphasis on how television film inter-connects with people's imagined geographies of place. Australian tourists' imagined geographies of the UK were extremely attractive and whilst some referred to cities (and London more particularly) most related to two main types of scape; countryside which was inhabited by the aristocracy and the wealthy and, countryside inhabited by more ordinary folk. Their geographies typically included; beautiful green countryside (which was often described as gentle or soft) with dry stone walls, hedgerows, rolling hills, castles, stately homes and estates, picturesque villages, thatched housing, old pubs, crooked cottages, churches, old architecture and bed & breakfasts, which were described as being, "little", "beautiful", "incredible", "lovely", "magnificent", "quaint", "ancient", "delicious" and, "gorgeous". What was most striking about these imagined geographies was their similarity, (which given the sample of people I worked with was perhaps not so surprising)[1]. Women and men of all ages, ethnic backgrounds and travel experiences tended to refer to similar images and use the same nouns and adjectives when describing them, although I did find that women found it easier to describe their imagined geographies of the UK than men.

Chapter Six revealed that the sources for Australian tourists' imagined geographies of the UK were varied and included, reading poetry, newspapers and magazines, looking at photographs, pictures and postcards, reading letters from relatives travelling there, talking to friends and relatives who had lived and/or travelled there and, looking at travel

[1] See my discussion relating to the sample of people I worked with later here in the Critical Appraisal.

guides, tourist brochures, BTA print and, television and film. It revealed that older tourists' imagined geographies of the UK derived more from reading, (more men than women talked about reading books more generally) and studying about the UK at school, whilst younger peoples' imagined geographies derived more from watching television and film (in a similar way to my own imagined geography of Australia). Some of the female tourists (and older people more generally) that had visited the UK on a previous occasion additionally stressed how their previous travel was an important source for their imagined geography of the UK and how what they had actually seen preceded other source material. However, most of the sources for Australians' imagined geographies of the UK were representative forms of the UK, and confirmatory of Zonn's (1984) hypothesis that images of places removed from the ordinary are more likely to be created by indirect means. The imagined geographies furthermore incorporated more organic as opposed to induced imagery thus supporting the concept proposed by Gunn (1972), that organic imagery exerts a stronger influence over the creation of imagined geographies of place than the induced imagery of tourist brochures, advertizing and other promotional practice (discussed in Chapter Three).

Despite BTA Sydney's marketing efforts focusing on motion picture film and television travel shows, Chapter Six revealed that television film was the most important source for Australians' imagined geographies of the UK (even with those that had travelled to the UK on a previous occasion). Chapter Seven similarly revealed how televized screenings of *Heartbeat*, *Pride & Prejudice*, *Remains of the Day* and other television programmes were the most important sources for my respective imagined geographies of Goathland, Lyme Park, Lacock Village and Dyrham Park. Most of the Australians (except for some first generation Australians with a non-UK background) additionally emphasized television drama, with male tourists demonstrating a preference for drama with a criminal theme and women demonstrating a preference for costume dramas like *Pride & Prejudice* more specifically[2]. This is reflected by Table 6.6 which reveals that nearly all of the top ten films most mentioned by the Australian tourists were television dramas as

[2] See Ang (1995).

opposed to motion picture films, travel shows and other (tele)filmic genres[3]. Most were furthermore viewed on Australia's ABC television network which they associated with the BBC, public authority, state and a more educated audience (see Chapter Six).

Australian tourists found it quite difficult describing exactly why television film was more powerful as a source for their imagined geographies than others[4]. Whilst in my own case with regard to Australia, tele and filmic sources were the only ones I could actually remember, some Australians talked about television being a background influence since childhood. Whilst some were much more aware of how the UK had been highly contrived for their viewing than others, most seemed to accept the "preferred" reading and talked about the UK being portrayed "realistically" (Hall 1973). Like Macdonald (1990) and some of the geography teachers referred to by Aitken (1994a), (and, discussed in more depth in Chapter Two), British television film was described by some as being the next best way of experiencing UK culture, (and indeed, some felt its technological mediation of the tourist gaze was preferable to actually undertaking tourism[5]). Some also stressed how much more real it was in contrast to other representational forms because of its very particular appeal to the visual in contrast to other senses; one woman for example described how, "to *see it* is very important" (female, 51-60, 1st generation - Poland, travelled previously). Actually seeing the UK on television seemed to be more real for Australians than their experience of the other sources for their imagined geographies which were listed earlier, echoing Chapter Two's claim that television film's success lies in its illusion of reality; a combination of photography and motion. Chapter Two in addition revealed how whilst watching television is a less spectacular way of experiencing film than at the cinema, its power relates to its mass availability and ease of access. It also revealed how watching television was the most popular pastime for people at leisure, how its consumption was undemanding and took place effortlessly in the comfort of people's homes and, how it

[3] Travel shows (like motion picture films) were revealed by Chapter Six to be of some significance to Australian tourists travelling to the UK. See also Nicklasson (1996) and In Perspective (1997c).
[4] as indeed I (and most people probably) would too.
[5] See Acland (1998).

could be consumed in an unintrusive way which allowed people to undertake other activities at the same time. Commanding soundtracks (of speech, music and other noise) were revealed to allow for the consumption of television film without its actually being viewed and video-recorders to allow for flexibility and extended access to viewing.

The reasons why television drama was the most powerful source for Australians' imagined geographies of the UK more specifically relate to what is depicted and how this is done. Chapter Two revealed how television dramas typically concern themselves with notions of realism and the domestic and, centre their narratives on characters in identifiable ordinary locations, situations, encounters and relationships. Programmes were described as being instantly recognizable, highly familiar and undemanding, the characters being like friends and dilemmas being repeated and never resolved. In so doing, television was understood to minimize the 'otherness' of what is portrayed and to confirm the normality of the viewer and their domestic site of viewing and the abnormality of the world upon which their and television's glance is turned (Ellis 1992).

Television's apparent 'normality' however, was revealed to mask its powerful and highly selective (re)production of meanings, discourses and culture. Chapter Two revealed how much meaning about place is intentionally encoded within the television film by the production team. This meaning together with that produced unintentionally within the tele-filmic text (and deriving from processes relating to its production) constructs meanings about place situated in powerful discourses. These texts (and subtexts) of meaning were revealed to mark significant cultural biases or ideologies and as such, to infuse places (both reel and real) with meaning, myth and stereotype. Tele-filmic places thus (rather like the tourist brochures of Chapter Three) were found to be important in terms of the national discourses they (re)produce and to have the potential to displace and prevent more genuine cultural representations (Higson 1987)[6].

[6] However, whilst most film production serves to (re)produce dominant discourses of place, Chapter Two revealed how place can also be utilized to de-centre dominant cultural discourses and to unpack the myths associated with it.

The ten television films most mentioned by Australian tourists (listed in Table 6.6) more specifically make *extensive use of location filming in the UK* and, excepting *The Bill*, utilize countryside locations as opposed to city-scapes. They all additionally have a very strong British house style which reflects and (re)produces shared meanings, understandings and interpretations about the UK (and its people) couched within dominant cultural discourses. Whilst some of the Australian tourists negotiated these meanings, many more readily accepted what was offered them and described the UK of these television dramas as being very attractive despite the appearance of what many held to be negative elements like for example, poor weather, crime, unfair power relations, tired landscapes, grim circumstances and bleak music. The research revealed how these meanings in turn became incorporated within Australian tourists' imagined geographies of the UK and evidenced by the way Australian tourists' descriptions of their imagined geographies were so similar to those relating to the UK of British television, (and even employed the same nouns and verbs). My examination of tele-filmic texts in Chapter Seven furthermore revealed that the geographies (re)produced by *Heartbeat*, *Pride & Prejudice* and *Remains of the Day* are corroborative of the two main types of imagined geographies of the UK related to me by Australian tourists in Chapter Six; that is, attractive and romanticized places in the countryside inhabited by ordinary people and, the aristocracy and wealthy. Television film was thus revealed to have a very powerful impact on Australian tourists' (and my own) imagined geographies of the UK.

Chapters Six and Seven revealed how these imagined geographies of place in turn map onto and inter-connect with other tourism processes and practices which occur before travel. Whilst my own and others' research has strongly suggested that people are motivated to travel to sites associated with film production, only one of the Australian tourists I worked with talked about television film (depicting the UK) being the main motivating factor for travel to the UK (Riley & Van Doren 1992a,b; Riley 1994; Riley *et al* 1998; Tooke 1994; Tooke & Baker 1996). However, whilst most Australian tourists anticipated that the most important places that they wanted to visit had historic or

picturesque connections (and very much the sort of places of their imagined geographies and, by association what they had seen on television), a few Australian tourists talked about how television film depicting the UK prompted the kind of places they most wanted to visit whilst actually there. One tourist for example, talked about wanting to see the kind of countryside and big houses depicted in television adaptations of Jane Austen novels like *Pride & Prejudice* (Austen 1990 [1813]). Television film also prompted a few Australian tourists to want to visit specific places. One tourist for example particularly wanted to travel to Nottingham which was entirely motivated by her viewing a variety of Robin Hood films as a child. She also talked about wanting to visit and stay in Goathland, the location for *Heartbeat.*

My own experience of tele-tourism documented in Chapter Seven also revealed how my travel intentions in respect of the site visits were framed and motivated by visits to specific sites that I had seen in *Heartbeat, Pride & Prejudice* and *Remains of the Day.* Whilst as a researcher, I deliberately intended to construct situations in order to document how my imagined geography of these 'off' site markers mapped onto my experienced geography of them, as a tourist I expected and welcomed the experience of feeling excited and satisfied whilst seeing these television icons. As such, television film anticipated much of Australians' and my own tourism practice before travel. As an antecedent text, it served to establish a set of expectations, anticipated the Australians' and my own experience of places whilst there, and provided a framework for an itinerary. Following from Urry (1990a) and Cloke & Perkins (1998) therefore, television film constituted an important part of a tourism hermeneutic circuit where an embodied tourist gaze was anticipated and mobilized. However, whilst the thesis suggests an understanding of how television film maps onto tourists' anticipated experienced geographies of place, it provides less knowledge about why this is so. It has indicated however, that people are motivated to visit particular sites because television's (re)production of them makes them highly attractive in the way suggested by Sontag (1979), because their exposure to them on television is repeated (often many times) and because the tele-filmic diegetic components emphasize specific sites in ways which are intended and unintended. In so doing, television film would therefore seem to play a

significant part in the (re)production of tourist sites and, make important contributions to each of the five stages of site development proposed by MacCannell (1976); the naming phase, framing/elevation, enshrinement, mechanical reproduction and social reproduction.

Chapter Six also revealed that television film had an inter-connection with the tourists' acquisition of knowledge about the UK. However, whilst research indicates that reading as a form of obtaining information about places has become less important to people than visual forms, after all, "[i]mages of appropriate environments can now be much more readily conjured up, evaluated and compared, often through people's own photographs or through programmes seen on the TV/VCR" (Urry 1992b, p9), very few of the Australian tourists talked about intentionally obtaining information on the UK for their prospective travel from television (Butler 1990)[7]. Where it was mentioned though, it was usually in reference to travel shows and, the provision of ideas on how to tour the UK. And, like other forms of information, tourists talked about how television film similarly reinforced their imagined geographies rather than altering them in ways reminiscent of Zonn's (1984) research on transactional theory where people's understanding of landscape was revealed to be a continual process (discussed in Chapter Two).

(Tele)Tourism During Travel

> "the mediated experience is usually better than the so-called 'real' experience" (MacCannell 1996, p18).

As Chapter Four revealed it was difficult to work with Australian tourists whilst they were actually undertaking tourism in the UK[8]. It is because of this therefore that their voice relating to the mapping of imagined geographies onto their experienced geographies of the UK, (and the inter-connection this process had with their having

[7] I also did not use television as a means for information on the places that I am described touring in this thesis.

watched television film depicting the UK), is a small one and the product of three Australian tourists' stories only. However, whilst this was mitigated by my use of research material obtained from talking to Australian tourists before travel about their previous tours to the UK and, by my own undertaking of tele-tourism prompted by the Australian tourists (see Chapter Seven), research on tele-tourism during travel is an area which obviously invites further work[9].

Following from Goss (1993) and others' work discussed in Chapter Three, Chapter Six revealed how Australian tourists' experienced geographies of the UK were very much as they predicted they would be, although they were described to me with more enthusiasm (especially by female tourists) and in more detail with regard to the specific places they visited (and similar to my own experience of Australia). Australian tourists' imagined geographies and the sources for them (the most important of which was revealed to be television) seemed to make their experienced geographies predictable, calculable and more controlled (Rojek 1993). The tourists' experience of the UK before travelling there (and, rather like the tourist brochures of Chapter Two) seemed to tame and domesticate the 'otherness' of the UK and the British, and to anchor it to attractive notions of safety, familiarity and the benign. However, unlike my own experienced geography of Australia which was very much an embodied experience where information and imagery were collated by use of all my senses, the research has less to say about how Australian tourists' experienced geographies of the UK were sensed (perhaps because it was not specifically asked for).

However, whilst most Australians' experienced geographies were as they expected, a few experienced some surprises and disappointment which did not corroborate their imagined geographies of the UK. Some for example were surprised by the UK not being as congested with people as they had imagined it to be, whereas one man was disappointed by the proliferation of tourists he encountered (see Cater 1995). A few also expressed surprise and disappointment regarding the people of colour they experienced.

[8] See also Cooper (1993a) and Squire (1994a).

Tourists quite clearly had only expected, (and in one case actually hoped) to see people with white skin[10].

Chapter Six also revealed that the Australian tourists I worked with during travel preferred to tour independently and, that most enjoyed touring places with historical, architectural and ancestral connections (which given that they all had a UK ancestry dating back many generations, was not surprising). The tourists however, found it more difficult to describe how their travel in the UK would impact on their lives back home in Australia. The man travelling independently felt it would make no difference what so ever, whereas the woman (inspired by her experience of British public and private gardens) talked about how she intended to grow flowers outside her house in hanging baskets and make her garden more attractive. The other man talked about how he had been encouraged to undertake more travel in general.

Whilst two of the three tourists I worked with insisted that television film had not consciously inter-connected with their practice of tourism within the UK, (in the same way I was not aware of television inter-connecting with my travel in Australia) one of the tourists expressed how television film was an important influence on the way he and his wife had undertaken their tourism. This man described how they had driven specially to Whitby and Goathland because of their being locations for *Heartbeat*, his wife's favourite television programme. In this case, television film seemed to mediate the way they had travelled, validated what was worthy of viewing and acted as a kind of tour arbitrator in the way suggested by Goss (1993) and Crang (1996) and discussed in Chapter Three.

Other tourists that I interviewed prior to travelling to the UK had also talked about how television film had influenced their previous travel to the UK. One woman for example, talked about having to travel to Lyme Regis with the express purpose of walking out on the cobb in order to relive one of the most enigmatic scenes from the film, *The French*

[9] I also document my tele-tourism experience in relation to Florence in this chapter and Chapter One.

Lieutenant's Woman and another talked about the fantasy of imagining scenes from *All Creatures Great & Small* taking place around her whilst travelling in the Yorkshire countryside. Another tourist talked more generally about the sense of familiarity she experienced when travelling through countryside similar to that she had seen on television and one man talked about the sense of pleasure he experienced when seeing places he recognized from television film.

Although this research begins to suggest ways in which television film inter-connects with tourism processes and practices undertaken whilst travelling, it has less to say about why this happens and, how people feel when it is happening. However, my own story of travel in relation to the site visits I undertook (which are documented in Chapter Seven) revealed how (and unlike the very few Australian tourists of Chapter Six who talked about the sense of pleasure they felt when experiencing places in the UK that they recognized from television) seeing places on film and television had a negative inter-connection with my actual experience of them in each case. Chapter Seven described how seeing Goathland, Lyme Park and Dyrham Park on television had prompted the development of a very attractive imagined geography of these respective places[11]. My site visits to Goathland, Lyme Park and Dyrham Park afforded me the opportunity to map these onto my experienced geographies which was not only far more complex and complicated than I had originally expected, but afforded me the sense of disappointment foreseen by Meyerowitz (1985)[12]. My site visits were entirely about the 'collection' of sites 'marked' by signifiers from *Heartbeat*, *Pride & Prejudice* and *Remains of the Day*. My engagement with these and the way I expected to feel had already been anticipated by pre-set notions derived from the discourses of the tele-filmic material which I understood to be an extension of Goffman's (1959) front region, (the region which tourists initially seek to penetrate when encountering the tourist destination and discussed in Chapter Three). As Chapter Seven revealed, in each case (and, as Rojek

[10] The main characters of the tele-filmic material delineated in Table 6.6 are all white skinned.
[11] My story of travel to Florence included in this chapter and the beginning of Chapter One also corroborates this.
[12] See Chapter Three.

(1997) anticipates) the televized markers; that is, Aidensfield's post office, shops and hotêl, Pemberley and Darlington Hall, (re)produced a more satisfying tourist experience than my actual 'real' experience of them. Watching *Heartbeat*, *Pride & Prejudice* and *Remains of the Day* was revealed to have had (re)produced meanings, understandings and interpretations of their respective locations well before I visited them which crucially determined, mediated, distorted and competed with my actual experience of them. I was thus rather deflated not to be able to find the cosy Aidensfield of *Heartbeat*, (or the 'real' one for that matter), the imposing Pemberley of *Pride & Prejudice* and the dignified Darlington Hall of *Remains of the Day* because they did and could not exist off screen minus their characters, setting, props, costume, performance, lighting, camera operation, editing, sound, narrative, beautification, and my actual engagement with these phenomena.

Chapter Six also revealed how *Heartbeat*, *Pride & Prejudice* and *Remains of the Day* (re)produced the actual places they depict (Goathland, Lyme Park and Dyrham Park) in ways which corresponded with the duration of their exposure on television. The discussion relating to *Heartbeat* (a long running television series) and Goathland therefore in particular revealed how television film has formed part of a hermeneutic circle (referred to in Chapter Three) which links representations of tourist destinations to actual tourist experience by creating a set of expectations that the tourist industry has to accommodate (Relph 1976; Goss 1993; Cloke & Perkins 1998). Chapter Seven exemplified this by revealing how ideological meanings about the UK and places (re)produced by *Heartbeat* mapped onto the (re)production of the places depicted and which authenticated the imagery from the series. This was found to not only have significant consequences for the place itself but to be highly consequential to the people that live in Goathland as they and meanings about them have become (re)produced. *Heartbeat* was thus found to unintentionally commodify its location, Goathland, (and, its people) and to have become a confusing, dissatisfying collage and inauthentic pastiche where the real converges with the reel for the tourist (Aitken & Zonn 1993; Kennedy & Lukinbeal 1997).

My experienced geography of the locations for *Heartbeat*, *Pride & Prejudice* and *Remains of the Day* did not therefore corroborate my imagined geography of them and afford me the more moving experiences I had expected and hoped for. Other Australian tourists too, referred to similar experiences when encountering places that they recognized from tele-filmic material. Any sense of pleasure I experienced was nearly always associated with my experiencing places for their own sake (and in a way not connected with my having seen them on television), although in the case of Goathland this was confused and marred by the specific (re)productions of Aidensfield within the village.

(Tele)Tourism Following Travel

Although Chapter Three includes research which refers to tourism undertaken following travel like for example, Mathieson & Wall (1982) on tourist consumer behaviour, Gunn (1988) on tourism imagery and Crang (1996) on photography, this thesis has revealed that there is a paucity of research relating to the theory or practice of tourism processes which take place following people's travel from their tourist destination back to the generating region, home (and, none which specifically relates to tele-tourism following travel). Chapter Six however, begins to redress this lacuna and tells the story of 12 Australian tourists' practice of tourism following their travel to the UK. This work was also complemented by the site visits I am described undertaking in Chapter Seven.

Chapter Six revealed how Australian tourists' imagined geographies of the UK following their travel continued to be very similar to those that they had held before and during their travel (although they were all like myself much more detailed with regard to specific places that they had actually visited). The UK was thus described (again more enthusiastically by women than men) as being very much the stuff of their original imagined geographies of place and, very much what they expected it to be like (Boorstin 1961). And, whilst one man talked about being very moved by a pizzicato movement he

had *heard* played by an orchestra in the church, St Martin in the Fields, (Trafalgar Square, London), most of the tourists privileged their sight and emphasized what they had *seen* (see Urry 1990a). The Australian tourists clearly derived much pleasure from collecting people and places which corroborated their imagined geographies of the UK and, as before, were disappointed by those experiences which did not correspond with them. Tourists' geographies of the UK were most affected by weather (which in most cases was untypically very fine), the people they encountered, their actual experience of different places and their experience of the tourism system.

What stood out as being most different about the Australian tourists' geographies following travel was the inclusion of commentaries relating to the UK as a place in which to undertake tourism. Tourists therefore commented on their experience of a variety of tourism phenomena which included; accommodation, eating, driving and distances, public transportation, shopping, airports and passport control, other tourists, British people, events, tourist attractions and the bureaucracy associated with tourist services. Most of the Australian tourists described the UK as a good place to visit with lots of things to see and do and stressed the benefits of short journey times between tour destinations. Most undertook tours which began and ended in London and typically constituted a journey to Glasgow and Edinburgh in Scotland (and, sometimes further north) on the west side of England via places like Windsor, Oxford, The Cotswolds, Stratford upon Avon, Yorkshire and The *Lakes* District, with detours into Wales and sometimes Ireland. They usually travelled back to London on the east side of England with perhaps the odd sortie to places like Durham, York and Cambridge. Whilst Australians with a non-UK background did not have the same kind of interest in history as those whose ancestry was British, the places of most importance to tourists overall were either of historical and architectural significance and/or visually beautiful. Men demonstrated a preference for urban environments whereas women demonstrated a preference for the countryside.

Chapter Six also revealed how Australian tourists found it difficult to describe how their tourism experience of the UK had affected them and their lives following travel. Some insisted that it had made no difference whatsoever, whereas others talked about learning and being educated about a culture that some had heralded from and, their own. Some talked about their tour to the UK encouraging a thirst for travel more generally and the UK more specifically, two of the women talked about designing their gardens in the style of the ones that they had seen and one woman talked about buying furniture in the style that the British had in their homes.

Tourists' travel was influenced by a number of stimuli whilst touring the UK which included maps, whether castles were situated in the area, people's recommendations (including my own), guide books, restaurant listings, previous memories, places where ancestors had lived and where they had been before, (if they had travelled to the UK previously). I was surprised to find (given the effort involved in its publication) that none of the 12 tourists I worked with following travel to the UK mentioned the BTA's *Movie Map* (Liddall 1996a). Whilst those with a non-UK ancestry seemed less interested, some of the other tourists (mainly women or men prompted by their wives) described how watching British television had motivated their travel to specific sites in two main ways. Some described how they had planned and specifically sought out television film and motion picture film locations in a way anticipated by Relph (1976); "we had to stay at Whitby for the wife's sake, cos that's where they do *Heartbeat*" (male, 41-50, 1st trip), whilst others described how they made detours from their main tour routes to locations which interested them if in their vicinity; "oh well, we were in that direction and so we said, 'well this is *Heartbeat* "Country", so we would go down there, we just detoured off and ....." (female, 51-60, 1st trip). Whilst none of the tourists talked about being disappointed by experiencing television film locations following their travel experience, the research was not as illuminating as I would have liked it to have been on how the Australian tourists felt when experiencing them. It also has little to say about what the tourists

actually did when touring television film locations[13]. Two however, spoke about the feeling of romance they experienced whilst visiting Stirling, (the place they perceived to be the location for *Braveheart*), one woman talked about feeling "nice" when recognizing a road from *Heartbeat*, one man described how happy his wife had been to see and photograph a film crew actually filming *Ballykissangel* in Ireland, and, another talked about the fun afforded her and her husband when they stumbled across a location for the comedy film *Austen Powers*. The research furthermore indicated that television film had a more obvious inter-connection with Australian women's practice of tourism than men's. However, further investigation needs to be undertaken in order to substantiate this. Tourists' real enthusiasm however was associated more with enjoying places for their own sake. Two of the tourists for example, (like myself) talked much more about being struck by the beautiful moor-land surrounding Goathland and one recorded excitedly in his diary how he had seen snow for the first time in his life.

The Australian tourists demonstrated most strength of feeling when talking about seeing places that they had toured to on television back at home in Australia. All expressed a sense of pleasure, excitement and self-fulfilment about seeing places that they had visited (quite a few mentioned watching Princess Diana's funeral procession through London in September 1997 in particular) and some talked about enjoying boasting to others that they had actually been to them. One tourist who had watched little television depicting the UK before her travel to the UK talked about how she now deliberately sought to watch British television and how she could identify with it much more since her travel there and another talked about how watching British television reminded him of his very happy time in the UK away from work.

My own experience of tele-tourism following travel (which is documented in Chapter Seven with regard to Lyme Park, Lacock Village, Goathland and Dyrham Park) also corroborates what the Australian tourists' experienced. I recorded how I was afforded much pleasure by viewing places on television that I had toured to and within. I have

[13] This is because the few who had toured tele-filmic sights found it difficult to delineate exactly how they

furthermore, more recently watched BBC TV's, *Billy Connolly's World Tour of Australia* (February 1999) and Billy Connolly touring Australia and, on this occasion Sydney. It felt very exciting joining him to take in the views of the harbour and the opera house as I had done myself in 1997 (see Figures 8.1 and 8.2).

Figure 8.1: Sydney's Harbour Bridge and Harbour

However, whilst I do find it difficult to document exactly why seeing Sydney on television made me feel excited, I do think it has much to do with the sum of all my experienced geographies of the harbour (which were very positive) dynamically mapping onto my vicarious experience and imbuing it with much meaning and feeling of my own. It would of course be very interesting to undertake research which explores and investigates this further. And, whilst the research I undertook has less to say about how and why this is so, it is therefore principally through the deployment of auto-ethnography

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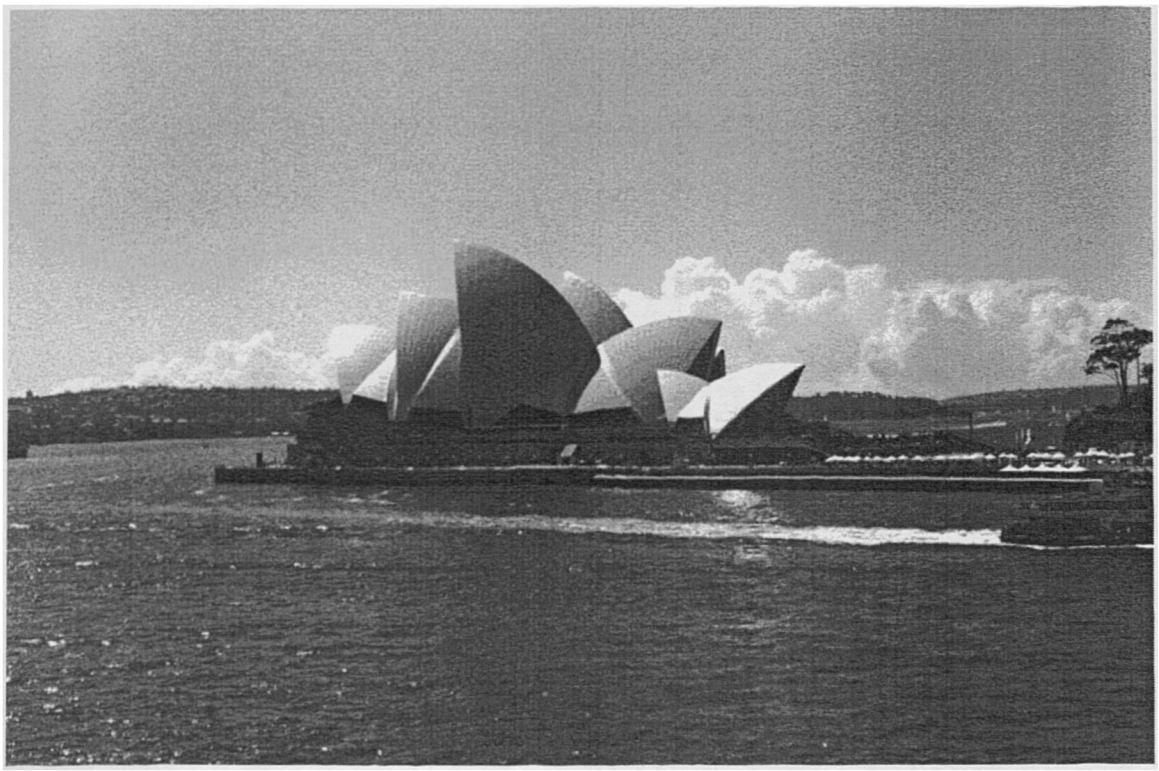
felt and what they did.

that a hermeneutic circle exclusively concerned with tele-tourism; that is, where tele-tourism meanings are continually produced, consumed and *(re)*produced has been identified. Whilst the interviews undertaken with Australian tourists provided significant knowledge relating to specific parts, it has only been possible with the incorporation of my own experience of tele-tourism to fully recognize the complete circle. My auto-ethnographic work therefore provided considerable theoretical insight, which has then been mapped onto an understanding of the Australians' practice of tourism.

Figure 8.2: Sydney Opera House



Critical Appraisal

In order to contextualize my claims of knowledge, a consideration of the limitations associated with them must become an integral part of the research process (Duncan

1996). This part of the chapter thus constitutes a critical appraisal of the thesis and the programme of research I undertook to investigate the inter-connections existing between television film, people and place in the context of tourism. It focuses its arguments around issues relating to the thesis' principle elements which have not only afforded it its strengths but limitations too; **people**, **place** and **time**. However, it is because these strengths have been revealed throughout the thesis, that this part of the chapter concerns itself with the way in which my use of these elements has delimited the knowledge produced here. It begins by considering the limitations afforded by the people of this thesis.

This thesis has been very much determined by the people (and organizations) I have chosen to involve in its production; that is, the Australian tourists, BTA Sydney (and its staff) and, me. I firstly, chose to work with tourists from the same generating region for reasons relating to access which are detailed in Chapter Four. However, working with tourists from two or more generating regions (perhaps a 'developed' and 'developing' region) with differing cultures of television and tourism would have added an extra dimension to the knowledge produced here. The information provided by having done this would have answered different questions relating to the way the UK is (re)produced by television film in different generating regions, the ways different people consume television film (and its (re)presentations of the UK), and, the way in which television film inter-connects with different people's geographies of the UK. I also chose to work with tourists who could converse in English in order to avoid translators and second-hand stories. It would of course have been very interesting to see how sub-titles and dubbing affected the way in which the UK is (re)produced by television screened in non-English speaking places, the way in which British television is consumed by non-English speakers and, the inter-connection television film depicting the UK has with non-English speaking people's practice of tourism to the UK. I additionally chose to work with people touring from a long haul destination for reasons also provided in Chapter Four. I think it would have been very interesting to compare and contrast the knowledge gained from working with these people with others travelling from a short-haul destination to

see in particular whether distance has an impact on the significance of television as a source for people's imagined geographies of place. Indeed, Chapter Two's discussion of transactional theory suggests that imagined geographies of nearer places are more likely to be dominated by experiential means of information acquisition, whereas imagined geographies of places further from us are more likely to be created and maintained by indirect means like television (Zonn 1984). I furthermore chose to work with the people of a generating region which screens a lot of British tele-filmic material. It would again, have been interesting to have compared and contrasted viewers' consumption of British television in places where it is only just beginning to be screened like the Atlantic island of St Helena (Frean 1994) with countries like the US whose people have been highly familiar with British television for many years. And, although I do refer to my experience of Australian television film and its inter-connection with my tourism there, this thesis emphasizes tourists' experience of travelling to the UK only. This has thus served to curtail the production of knowledge relating to the way in which different places are (re)produced and consumed on television. The thesis would have been suitably enriched by examining how two or more countries are (re)produced on television and, how their consumption inter-connected with the tourism to these places.

The means by which knowledge was produced from, (and with) the Australian tourists has also had its limitations. Although I used some tourist diaries and other means discussed in Chapter Four, my familiarity with semi-structured interviews provided me with the impetus and confidence to use them again here as the main method to realize tourists' stories. However, it was not until I had undertaken, transcribed and analyzed them that I was able to really appreciate their limitations. My use of the method for example, privileges tourists' stories told before as opposed to during (and to a lesser extent, following) their travel. Chapter Four described the difficulties I had in locating Australian tourists whilst they were actually travelling in the UK which could have been mitigated in some cases by further organization like for example, telephoning Australians just prior to their travel to confirm a time and place for interviews[14]. The

[14] Although this would have been difficult to facilitate for reasons given in Chapter Four.

analysis also revealed that the research has less to say about how tourists became aware of places more generally, what tourists do when visiting tele-filmic sites and, why and how they feel when experiencing them. This could have been redressed by the inclusion of further questions which might have prompted the generation of appropriate information. Furthermore, in order to have produced even more in-depth information (but in relation to fewer people), I could have utilized the method in a different way and worked with ten tours and those people involved before, during and following their travel and/or used an alternative methods like for example focus groups. I could have also become involved with the touring of one or more groups and actually undertaken their tourism with them as both observer and participant although I still have concerns about the ethics of doing this (see Chapter Four).

Whilst the Australian tourists I worked with were probably quite a representative sample of the population of Australian tourists travelling to the UK in statistical terms, accessing tourists through BTA Sydney and its database of potential tourists has meant that the research has less to say about the tourism practised by three other groups of people travelling to the UK from Australia; that is, those tourists that were young in age (0-30 years), those that were not economically "well off" and, those with non-European ethnic backgrounds. In order to have generated knowledge about these groups, I could have accessed tourists through travel agents and tour operators who specialized in these groups and/or non-tourism organizations like schools, colleges, universities, social groups and organizations and web-sites. I could have even approached tourists who appeared to be of these groupings at Australia's major airports and perhaps negotiated access to work with them in departure lounges and/or the gates of flights to the UK (although this would have been difficult to facilitate and a lengthy haphazard process). And, although I do mention in Chapter Four how attempts to establish links with Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people did not feel ethically quite right and, although I appreciate that this group of people constitutes a very small proportion of those travelling from Australia to the UK it would have nonetheless been insightful and interesting to compare and contrast their stories with those of non-indigenous

Australians. Working with the Australian tourists I did however, directed me to particular knowledges which included specific tele-filmic types which (re)produce the UK in a very particular way. Working with other tourists may have directed me to alternative tele-filmic types and consequently produced very different knowledges.

The thesis has stressed throughout how it is so subject to who and what I am. And, whilst this has had some advantages it has had its limitations too. Chapter One described how my previous research experience (which mainly used quantitative methodologies) was characterized by a positivist approach. As this thesis demonstrates, I did not quite let go of this approach to my work which has had its concomitant difficulties. I did for example, (despite my readings of qualitative methodology) feel rather driven to interview as many tourists as I possibly could in Australia because of a need to undertake research which was 'representative' of the whole population of Australian tourists to the UK and, to prove something to myself (and/or others). At the time, the possibility of working with less than twenty tourists before, during and following their travel would not have felt quite 'right'. However, if I had have been able to mitigate this feeling and given myself more time (perhaps two more months) to undertake the research in Australia, I could have probably interviewed just as many people face to face and have been able to have interviewed fewer tourists in even more depth. Chapter One also described my experience of tourism production and consumption and television viewing which has ordered the way in which I have understood others' experience of them here. My experience of tourism production in particular has structured the way in which I understand how tourism is produced and drawn me to working with organizations (and people within them) that I was already familiar with. This has however placed limitations on the research as is most obviously exemplified by the sample of tourists I had access to through BTA Sydney which has already been discussed here. Furthermore, the research material and data that I have employed in relation to Australian tourism to the UK was also derived from BTA Sydney or organizations associated with them. Data and material collated from other organizations that realize tourism from Australia to the UK like for example BA, Qantas,

hotêl groups, car hire organizations, tour operators and travel agents could have usefully complemented the data and material if I had have been able to have obtained it[15].

The work has also been limited by characteristics peculiar to me. I battle particularly with feelings of shyness and self-consciousness in the presence of many others, have a general lack of self-confidence and experience severe anxiety in some situations. Whilst I am not particularly aware of this altering the results (indeed my shyness seemed to be of some use during interviews and put some of the tourists at their ease[16]) it has made both 'writing up' and undertaking field-work where I had to continually present myself and my work to new people quite difficult. My colour, gender, age and lifestyle have also framed the programme of research I have undertaken, but in particular reference to the interviews posed little difficulty because the tourists I worked with were usually of the same colour and similarly experienced what many would call a "middle-class" lifestyle. However, if I had have worked with more people of colour and/or those who were socially and economically less "well off", the power relations of the interview situation would have been much altered and perhaps necessitated a different method altogether. Whilst my femininity has had distinct advantages it has also placed limitations on my work. Chapter Four describes how I initially felt quite hesitant about interviewing male Australian tourists (especially in their places of work) and my concerns about security. I was also concerned about how even the everyday undertakings of communication between men and women operate in a way which produces a bias (and power) in favour of men (Fishman 1990). The impact of this was certainly felt during interviews. Some men for example seemed to be challenged by my presence and had to prove to me how much they knew about the UK. It was often impossible to get them to talk about their imaginings and what they actually felt. Some were also a little patronizing which had the effect of diminishing my confidence in the interview's value during its procedure (see Chapter Four for more detail). As a research tool therefore (and the one of most significance to this thesis) the dynamic "tangle" of

[15] However, after some enquiry I found that most organizations were very reluctant to let me see their market research material.

[16] whereas my smart confident mask has had the opposite effect in previous research.

who and what I am has brought with it limitations which have had their impact on this thesis. And whilst I am very reluctant to appropriate anything other than positives to the following, my research has of course been further delimited by my engagement with the literature reviewed in Chapters Two and Three, my supervision, my academic colleagues and the school of study to which I belong.

This thesis has also been very much determined by the places involved in its production; that is, the UK and Australia and, their inter-connection. Since the British invasion of Australia in 1788 and the dispossession of the Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islanders of their land and people, many British people have continued to migrate to Australia for a variety of reasons. The invasion and its legacy is not only something that some Australians are ashamed of, but the foundation stone for the nation's inferiority complex and cultural 'cringe' which in turn has prompted some to look to 'Great' Britain for social norms unavailable in their own so called 'delinquent' land (Turner 1986). John Howard's coalition government for example continues to emphasize Australia's British heritage (and Australia's socio-cultural and political distinctiveness from Asia) (Schech & Haggis 1998)[17]. However, there is a sense that Australia has been marooned as a colony more recently and how as an integral part of the British Empire it laments its anticipated demise as a constitutional monarchy. These sentiments were evidenced by many of the Australian tourists I spoke to who had a British ancestry. Many referred to being brought up to think that anything associated with the UK was highly positive and superior to anything associated with Australia. And as such, the UK constitutes an ideal tourist destination for some Australian people. However, despite this, there are those like Paul Keating (the former labour government leader and prime-minister) who call for Australia to "leave home" and sever its symbolic links with the UK by becoming a republic with a fully independent profile in the Asia-Pacific region (Ryan 1995). The very strong republican movement that currently exists will be given voice in a referendum on republicanism which takes places this year (1999). Many Australians are furthermore tired of the long tradition of a cynical, arrogant, superior and knowing

'Great' Britain leading a simple and trusting Australia. Some also have not so fond memories of Gallipoli in the First World War, Singapore in the Second, the 12 Maralinga nuclear bomb trials conducted between 1952-1957 which caused horrific plutonium pollution and the sacking of prime-minister Gough Whitlam by Governor-General in 1976. Some will have also delighted in the *Spycatcher* trials where ex-MI5 Peter Wright published his memoirs in Australia and together with his Australian lawyer resisted British authority (Turner 1994)[18]. Chapter Five revealed how the BTA is very mindful of this and understands that many Australians associate the UK with old fashioned notions of empire and monarchy, and has adopted its promotional practice accordingly which whilst capitalizing on the more traditional icons demonstrates that the UK is as much a cultural melting pot as Australia. Working with these countries therefore and their geographies, histories and cultures has delimited the knowledge that could have been produced. I could have worked with one place only or, two (or more) alternative places whose geography, history, culture and inter-connections would have been very different and, prompted the production of very different stories and knowledges.

This thesis is furthermore very much of its time. I have undertaken research for it during the years 1995-1999 where both the practices of watching television and doing tourism have been very much a part of the everyday life of ordinary people living in the 'developed' world. Undertaken even fifty years ago, I would have had to have worked with another representative form (possibly literature or painting). Working with tourists from Australia too would have also presented difficulties especially given the length of time involved in travelling between the UK and Australia on ship. Most tourists available would have also been of British extraction and much more difficult to access[19]. I would probably therefore had to have worked with British tourists touring the UK

[17] John Howard is described as keeping republicanism at the fringe of political debate and not knowing quite what to do about it (Kitney 1997a).
[18] Many also continue to enjoy Australian victories over the British test cricket team! (Turner 1994).
[19] BTA Sydney was not established until 1958.

and/or overseas tourists whilst in the UK and, with those that had the means to travel; the upper and/or upper middle classes only.

Contemplating undertaking this research in the not too distant future is even more difficult. This research has already revealed that tourists do not have to leave their homes in order to see many of the objects of their tourist gaze. Many tourist experiences, the viewing of named scenes through a frame, can easily be done at the flick of a switch and repeated time and time again at the tourist's whim in a way anticipated by Urry (1988). As such, television blurs the realms of social and cultural activity and realizes a postmodern collapse between travel and illusion (Acland 1998)[20]. It furthermore, anticipates the development taking place in virtual technology and, the way in which we may even be able to think ourselves to places and tour the imagined geographies of our minds (thus avoiding any disappointment associated with our experienced geographies of the world).

Television Film and Tourism

> "The subjective effects on the tourist are not unlike those of the cinema spectator" (Friedberg 1993, p59).

On a more general level, the programme of research I have undertaken has much to say about both watching television and, "doing" tourism. One of the things I have been most struck by is the similarities that these practices both share. Watching television and "doing" tourism are signifying practices which are fundamental to many of those living in the 'developed' world and make important contributions to the Circuit of Culture (Du Gay *et al* 1998) depicted in Figure 2.2. Both constitute significant repositories of shared meanings, values, understandings, interpretations and mythologies about places (and the people who act within them) which are situated in powerful discourses and constructed to be consumed in a way which is intended. They are furthermore produced and

communicated in a way which emphasizes particular definitions, and dilutes, distorts and makes invisible others, (thus engendering the possibilities of bias towards some phenomena and against others). These shared meanings in turn are mediated by both television and the tourism industry in similar ways. Both typically conform to notions of realism for example. Where television utilizes various technologies and devices in order to (re)produce 'reality', the tourism industry (especially more recently) constructs 'authentic' destinations inhabited by 'authentic' people in its promotional practice, destination development and operation.

In addition, the television set and the tourism industry construct a complicitous embodied gaze so that experiences are presented as a separate "other" place. People together with the television and tourism industry can experience these "other" places and their peoples on journeys in the comfort of what is familiar and familial without experientially engaging with it. In so doing, the world from which the viewer/tourist gazes is constructed as being normal, commonsensical and taken for granted. The viewer/tourist is placed in a position of power over the abnormal world which is gazed upon which may include places, people, animals and so on. Both thus mask and mediate social knowledge, reinforce ideological constructions and are active agents of hegemony which participate in the construction of narrative for specific discourses of place, gender, age, colour, race and socio-economic status. And, whilst television and tourism intentionally produce geographies and meanings (to be consumed by viewers/tourists as intended), much other meaning is unintentionally produced and derives from the processes associated with their production; that is, why the programme/tourism is produced, who are involved in its production, who funded it and what their intentions are, where the production takes place, what is produced and how this is undertaken.

Television together with tourism furthermore constitute part of a hermeneutic circle which constructs people's imagined geographies of place and connects these with their experienced geographies. Whilst television film would seem to be of more consequence,

[20] Acland (1998) refers to this as 'dedifferentiation'.

both television film and the tourism industry provide important source material for people's imagined geographies of place. Television film (apart from travel advertizing, sponsorship and editorial) prompts the generation of organic imagery (which was found to have a more powerful impact on people's practice of tourism) whereas the tourism industry prompts the generation of induced imagery (Gunn 1972, 1988). Watching television film like experiencing the tourism industry's promotional practice establishes expectations about places (and their peoples), validates the way in which places are experienced and arbitrates tour behaviour; that is what is gazed upon and experienced. Imagined geographies thus (re)produce people's experienced geographies of places and people. In addition, both television film and the tourism industry constitute part of an hermeneutic circle which links representations with actual experience by creating a set of expectations that destinations have to accommodate. In their (re)production of place, both commodify and homogenize people's actual experience of them (and their peoples) in ways which are predictable, efficient, calculable, controlled. The places (re)produced also demonstrate an increasing similarity to the generating region from which the tourists tour from.

The thesis has also revealed how both television film and tourism can be consumed alone and with others and, for very similar reasons relating to information, distraction, entertainment and relaxation. Both however, are essentially associated with leisure and undertaken when people are not working. They additionally provide opportunities for the consumption of "other" places and peoples, privilege the sense of sight, provide for a dynamic encounter and, inter-connect individual viewers/tourists with a mass global culture of consumption. And, whilst television film viewers and tourists understand that their viewing/touring experience is an inauthentic way to experience places and peoples, both validate what they experience in terms of how successful it is at (re)producing what is understood as 'reality' (or, a hyper reality in the case of science fiction type television film and, places like Disneyland which clearly intend not to be 'real'). Failure to conform to notions of reality typically evokes dissatisfaction and may lead to the termination of television and tourism consumption. Following from this, consumers

were furthermore found to shape their lives to mimic the reality of television and tourism. Television and tourism discourses were revealed to be selectively and reflexively appropriated by viewers and tourists as they monitored their lifestyles and/or interpersonal relationships. Both watching television film and 'doing' tourism furthermore involve the undertaking of and blurring of many signifying practices which may include eating, shopping, sports activities, reading, resting, dancing and drinking.

In order to understand how people consume and gain meaning from television film and tourism, Chapters Two and Three furthermore examined literature which utilizes very similar theory concerned with semiotics, semiology, iconography, markers and markeds, signifiers and signifieds and, discourse analysis. Both theory and practice revealed that people's consumption of markers and signifiers provided a more satisfying experience than their consequent consumption of the phenomena being marked and signified. And, whilst it was presumed that consumers are not passive and gullible receivers of knowledge, the television and tourism industry were understood to exert much power and control over their respective viewers and tourists. The thesis also similarly emphasizes the complete range of activities associated with both television viewing and tourism; that is, what takes place before, during and following the actual act of viewing or the actual tour and stay.

There are also of course many differences between watching television film and "doing" tourism but, because these are more self apparent, this part of the chapter pays them less attention. The research does however emphasize both television film's and tourism's agency in the circulation of meanings which may collide and inter-connect with one another at different junctures in ways peculiar to the people, place and time of concern. From our conception, we construct imagined geographies of place (and in so doing, possible places to tour to) from a variety of phenomena which include; food and its packaging, fashion, music, paintings, books, magazines, people's stories, photographs, souvenirs, ornaments, household goods and so on. Television is thus one of many possible contributing phenomena. Its difference however lies in its ability to tell stories

about so many different places, and in its power (which has already been described in Chapter Two in particular). As such, it was found to be the most powerful source of people's imagined geographies of place. The thesis went on to reveal how it told powerful stories which placed a positive emphasis on some countries like the US and the UK (Aitken 1994a) and, a negative emphasis on others like the former East Germany (Hörschelmann 1997). From an early age therefore most of us are presented with ideas and images about places situated in very powerful discourses of place which (re)produce some places like the US as 'cool' and other places as not. These in turn haunt our imagined geographies of places and map onto and haunt our actual experienced geographies of these specific places (and/or places similar to them) in the manner suggested by Thrift (1999). I, for example, have described how my tour of Florence was haunted by the images and soundtrack from *A Room with a View* (and Puccini's song, "O mio babbino caro" in particular). One of the Australian tourists similarly described the sense of "niceness" that haunted her imagined geography of Goathland (prompted by her having watched *Heartbeat*) and how this had mapped onto and haunted her actual experience of Goathland. The research revealed that the mapping of some tourists' imagined geographies onto their experienced geographies of places prompted a few of the tourists to experience feelings of satisfaction, enjoyment, romance, familiarity and fun. Alternatively, the mapping of these geographies for myself and some others engendered feelings of disappointment and dissatisfaction because the places experienced were bereft of the phenomena (re)produced by television to which the imagined geography and its hauntings aspired. And, where attempts were made to incorporate tele-filmic phenomena at the places depicted, like for example at Goathland, the result was a rather dissatisfying mixture of real/reel where neither the 'real' Aidensfield of Goathland could be experienced and enjoyed. The research also revealed that television film continues its inter-connection with people's practice of tourism following their actual travel. It found how people gain much pleasure from watching places on television that they had actually toured to and within. My own experience of this in relation to the site visits is described in Chapter Seven and here in relation to Australia (and Florence). Several of the Australian tourists also similarly described how

watching the Princess of Wales' funeral on television was not only moving for its own sake but because it depicted many of the places that they had experienced and enjoyed in London. They derived much pleasure from being able to revisit places on television and being able to inter-connect them with the hauntings and meanings of their actual experience of them.

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All Creatures Great & Small (television series) - 1978 - 1990, various producers, UK: BBC TV.

The All-New Hale & Pace Show - 1988 - current, producer: Alan Nixon, UK: London Weekend Television.

The Aristocats - 1970, director: Wolfgang Reiterman, US: Walt Disney.

Austen Powers: International Man of Mystery - 1997, director: Jay Roach, US: Guild/New Lane/Capella/KC.

The Avengers (television series) - 1961 - 1969, various producers, UK: ABC.

Ballykissangel (television series) - 1996 - 1998, various producers, UK: BBC TV.

Bergerac (television series) - 1981 - 1990, various producers, UK: BBC TV.

Berlin, Symphony of a City - 1927, director: Walter Ruttman, Germany: Fox-Europa.

The Bill (television series) - 1984 - current, various producers, UK: Thames Television.

Billy Connolly's World Tour of Australia - 1996, producer: Steve Brown, UK: BBC TV.

Birds of a Feather (television series) - 1989 - current, various producers, UK: BBC TV/Alomo Productions.

Blade Runner -1982, director: Ridley Scott, USA: Warner Bros.

Blind Date (television series) - 1985 - current, directors: Gormen, J. & Scott, M. producer: Longuire, M., UK: London Weekend Television.

Blue Velvet - 1986, director: David Lynch, USA: Independent.

Braveheart - 1995, director: Mel Gibson, US: TCF, Icon, Ladd.

Brideshead Revisited (television serial) - 1979 - 1981, director: Michael Lindsay Hogg, UK: Granada Television, WNET, 13 New York & NDR.

By the Sword Divided (television serial) - 1983 and 1985, directors: Farnham, B., Herbert, H., Custance, M. & Farnham, B., producers: Alwyn, J. & Spiby, B. UK: BBC TV, Consolidated Productions.

Carry On (a series of films) - 1958 - 1978, director: Thomas, G., UK: Anglo Amalgamated.

Casualty (television series) - 1985 - current, various producers, UK: BBC TV.

The Cedar Tree (television series) - 1976 - 1979, producer: Ian Fordyce, UK: ATV.

Chicago Hope (television series) - 1994 - current, various producers, US: 20th Century Fox TV/David E Kelly Productions.

City of Joy - 1992, director: Roland Joffé, UK/France: Warner, Lightmotive, Pricel.

Close Encounters of a Third Kind - 1977, director: Stephen Speilberg, US: Columbia, EMI.

Common as Muck (television series) - 1994, director: Metin Hüseyin, UK: BBC TV.

Crimewatch UK (television series) - current, various producers, UK: BBC TV.

Coronation Street (television series) - 1960 - current, various producers, UK: Granada Television.

Crocodile Dundee - 1986, director: Peter Faiman, Australia: Paramount, Hoyts, Rimfire.

Crocodile Dundee II - 1986, director: Peter Faiman, Australia: Paramount, Rimfire.

Dallas (television series) - 1978 - 1987, various producers, US: Lorimar.

Dances With Wolves - 1990, director: Kevin Costner, US: Guild, Tig Productions, Jim Wilson.

Deliverance - 1972, director: John Boorman, US: Warner, Elmer Enterprises.

EastEnders - 1985 - current, executive producer: Matthew Robinson, UK: BBC TV.

Eating - 1984, director: Kennard, D., USA: Ambrose Video Publishing Inc, Warner Bros.

El Norte - 1983, director: Nava, G., UK/US: Independent Productions, American Playhouse Theatre/Channel 4.

Emma - 1996, director: Douglas McGrath, UK/US: Buena Vista, Matchmaker, Miramax, Haft.

Emmerdale (Farm) (television series) - 1972 - current, executive producer: Keith Richardson, UK: Yorkshire Television.

The English Man Who Went Up a Hill But Came Down a Mountain - 1995, director: Christopher Monger, UK: Buena Vista, Parallax Pictures Ltd.

The English Patient - 1996, director: Anthony Minghella, US: Buena Vista, Tiger Moth, Miramax.

ER (television series) - 1984 - current, director: Peter Bonerz, US.

Evita - 1996, director: Alan Parker, US: Entertainment, Cinergi, Robert Stigwood.

Fawlty Towers (television series) - 1975 - 1979, producers: John Howard Davies, Douglas Argent, UK: BBC TV.

Field of Dreams - 1989, director: Phil Alden Robinson, US: Guild, Universal, Carolco.

Flambards (television series) - 1979, producer: Leonard Lewis, UK: Yorkshire TV.

The Flying Doctors (television series) - 1986 - 1991, various producers, Australia: ABC.

Four Weddings & A Funeral - 1994, director: Mike Newell, UK: Rank, Polygram, Channel 4, Working Title.

The French Lieutenant's Woman - 1981, director: Karel Reisz, UK: UA, Juniper Films.

Gallipoli - 1981, director: Peter Weir, Australia: Associated R & R Films.

Getaway (travel documentary) - current, executive producer: Steve Wood, Australia: Channel 9.

Gone with the Wind - 1939, director: Victor Fleming, US: MGM, Selznick International.

The Great Outdoors (travel documentary) - current, various producers, Australia: Channel 7.

Hamish Macbeth (television series) - 1995 - 1997, various producers, UK: BBC TV.

Hawaii Five-O (television series) - 1968 - 1979, director: Freeman, L., US: TVM.

Hawaiian Eye (television series) - 1959-1962, various producers, US: ABC, Warner.

Healthy, Wealthy and Wise (television series) - current, various producers, Australia: 10.

Heartbeat (television series) - 1992 - current, executive producer: Keith Richardson, UK: YTV.

Holiday (travel documentary) - 1980 - current, various producers, UK: BBC TV.

Holiday (travel documentary) - current, various producers, New Zealand.

Home & Away (television series) - 1987 - current, various producers, Australia: Channel 7.

A Horseman Riding By (television serial) - 1977, producer: Ken Riddington, UK: BBC TV.

In the Name of the Father - 1993, director: Jim Sheridan, Ireland/UK: Universal/Hell's Kitchen/Gabriel Byrne.

Inspector Morse (television series) - 1987 - current, various producers, UK: Central ITV.

Jane Eyre - 1996, director: Franco Zeffirelli, US: Miramax/Rochester.

Jaws - 1975, director: Steven Spielberg, US: Universal, Zanuck-Brown.

Jurassic Park - 1993, director: Steven Spielberg, US: UIP, Universal, Amblin.

Keeping Up Appearances (television series) - 1990 - current, director/producer: Harold Snoad, UK: BBC TV.

Last of the Summer Wine (television series) - 1973 - current, various producers, UK: BBC TV.

Lawrence of Arabia - 1962, director: David Lean, USA: Columbia.

Loch Ness - 1995, director: John Henderson, UK: Polygram, Working Title, Stephen Ujlaki.

London - 1993, director: Peter Keiller, UK: BFI.

The Lost World: Jurassic Park - 1997, director: Steven Speilberg, US: Universal/Amblin.

Mad Max -1979, director: George Miller, Australia: Warner, Mad Max Partnership.

Mad Max 2 - 1981, director: George Miller, Australia: Warner, Kennedy Miller Entertainment.

Mad Max beyond the Thunderdome - 1985, directors: George Miller and George Ogilvie, Australia: Warner, Kennedy Miller.

Magnum PI (television series) - 1981 - 1988, producers: Donald Bellisario & Glen Lawson, US: CBS, Universal, Bellisarius, Glenharson.

Melrose Place (television series) - 1992 - current, various producers, US: Spelling Television.

Men Behaving Badly (television series) - 1994 - current, producer: Beryl Vertue, UK: BBC TV.

Metropolis - 1926, director: Fritz Lang, Germany: UFA.

Miami Vice (television series) - 1985 - 1990, producer: Michael Mann, US: TVM.

Middlemarch (television serial) - 1994, director: Anthony Page, producer: Marks, L., UK: BBC TV, WGBH, Boston and BBC Enterprises.

Mr Holland's Opus - 1995, director: Stephen Herek, US: Polygram, Interscope, Charlie Mopic.

Muriel's Wedding - 1994, director: P J Hogan, Australia: Buena Vista/CIBY 2000/AFFC.

The Nanny (television series) - 1993 - current, various producers, US: Sternim & Fraser Ink Inc.

Nationwide (television series) - 1969 - 1984, various producers, UK: BBC TV.

Neighbours (television series) - 1988 - current, various producers, Australia: Grundy Television.

Northern Exposure (television series) - 1990 - 1995, producers: John Falsey, Andrew Schneider, USA: CBS.

One Foot in the Grave (television series) - 1990 - current, producer: Susan Belbin, UK: BBC TV.

Paris, Texas - 1984, director: Wem Wenders, Germany/France: Road Movies, Argos.

Peak Practice (television series) - 1993 - current, various producers, UK: Central Television, Carlton UK Television.

The Perfumed Nightmare - 1977, director: Kidla Tahimik, Philippines: Tahimik Productions.

The Persuaders! (television series) - 1971 - 1972, producer: Robert Baker, UK: ITC.

Picnic at Hanging Rock - 1975, director: Peter Weir, Australia: Picnic Productions.

Play School (television series) - 1967 - current, various producers, Australia: ABC.

Points of View - 1960 (television series) - current, various producers, UK: BBC TV.

Poldark (television series) - 1975 - 1977, producers: Morris Barry and Tony Coburn, UK: BBC TV.

Pride & Prejudice (television serial) - 1995, director: Simon Langton, UK: BBC TV/Arts and Entertainment Co-production.

The Regions of Britain (a film series) - 1976-1977, various directors, UK: Shell.

Remains of the Day - 1993, director: James Ivory, UK/US: Merchant Ivory, Columbia.

Rob Roy - 1995, director: Michael Caton-Jones, US: Talisman Films for United Artists.

Roger & Me - 1990, director: Michael Moore, USA: Independent.

A Room with a View - 1986, director: James Ivory, UK: Merchant-Ivory Productions.

Rumpole of the Bailey (television series) - 1978-1987, various producers, UK: Thames Television.

Salaam Bombay! - 1988, director: Mina Nair, India: National Films Development Corporation, New Delhi, Cadrage, Paris, Channel 4, London.

Saturday Night Fever - 1977, director: John Badham, US: RSO, Paramount Pictures.

A Sense of Place: The Fens - 1980, director: Haydon, G., UK: BBC TV.

Sense & Sensibility - 1995, director: Ang Lee, UK/USA: Columbia/Mirage.

Shallow Grave - 1994, director: Danny Boyle, UK: Figment Films.

Shine - 1996, director: Scott Hicks, Australia: Buena Vista, AFFC, Momentum, SAFC, Film Victoria.

Skippy - 1966 - 1968, various producers, Australia: Norfolk International.

Soldiers of the Cross - 1900, directors: Herbert Booth, Joseph Perry, Australia: Lime-light Department, Salvation Army, Melbourne.

Steel Magnolias - 1989, director: Herbert Ross, US: Colombia, Tristar, Rastar, Ray Stark.

Storm Boy - 1976, director: Henri Safran, Australia: SA Film Corp.

The Story of the Kelly Gang - 1906, director: Charles Tait, Australia: J & N Tait.

Strictly Ballroom - 1992, director: Baz Luhrmann, Australia: Rank, M&A, AFFC.

Taggart (television series) - 1985 - current, various producers, UK: Scottish TV.

Thelma and Louise - 1991, director: Ridley Scott, US: UIP, Pathé Entertainment.

This Morning (television series) - 1987 - current, various producers, UK: Granada Television.

Thomas the Tank Engine and Friends (television series) - 1984 - 1986, director: David Mitton, producer: Britt Allcroft, UK: Clearwater Film - Britt Allcroft Ltd/Central TV.

The Today Show (television series) - current, various producers, Australia: Channel 9.

To the Manor Born (television series) - 1979-1981, producer: Gwenham, G., UK: BBC TV.

Trainspotting - 1996, director: Danny Boyle, UK: Polygram, Channel 4, Figment, Noel Gay.

The Vicar of Dibley (television series) - 1994 - 1997, producer: Jon Plowman, UK: BBC TV.

Waiting for God (television series) - 1990 - 1994, director/producer: Gareth Gwenham, UK: BBC TV.

Walkabout - 1970, director, Nicolas Roeg, Australia: Max L Raab, Si Litvinoff.

The Wiggles (television series) - current, various producers, Australia: Channel 7.

Wings of Desire - 1988, director: Wem Wenders, USA: Orion.

Wish You Were Here (travel documentary) - 1982 - current, producer: Palmer, C. UK: Thames Television.

Wuthering Heights - 1939, director: William Wyler, US: United Artists, Goldwyn.

The X Files (television series) - 1993 - current, executive producer: Chris Carter, US: Twentieth Television/Foxbroadcasting Co.

Yes Minister (television series) - 1980 - 1982, various producers, UK: BBC TV.

Yes Prime Minister (television series) - 1986 - 1988, various producers, UK: BBC TV.

Appendix A: Copy from *The Yorkshire 1999 Visitor Guide*

But above all Yorkshire is a place to relax.

A place to watch classic cricket or sample northern ale. To while away the day on golden beaches. To browse in country bookshops and wander historic cities, among them York - one of the medieval showpieces of Europe.

Above all, Yorkshire is a place to enjoy Britain's best known, best loved countryside.

Our scenery has always been famous and these days has superstar status. It is the glorious green setting of Britain's screen favourites **Heartbeat, Emmerdale, All Creatures Great** and **Small, and Last of the Summer Wine.**

For 15 million viewers, enough said.

What won't fit on the small screen is the sheer variety of Yorkshire. In one direction, the green and silver vistas and wildflower meadows of limestone country. In another, the wide skies and curlews of heather moorland. In yet another, the wild rose hedgerows of farming country.

What luxury. A view to suit your mood.

The rugged Pennines form Yorkshire's western ramparts marching shoulders squared from the Peak District to the Yorkshire Dales.

Linking them lies the South Pennines, Britain's new Heritage Area. These are the landscapes of **Summer Wine** country and the brooding moors which inspired the Brontes.

Away to the east, in its final dramatic flourish, Yorkshire sweeps to the sea across the heather heights of the North York Moors, the vistas of **Heartbeat.**

Not all our treasured landscapes are high and wild.

Remote Holderness, the golden Vale of York and rolling South Yorkshire beckon to be explored. The flowering lanes and hidden villages of the Wolds north and south of the Humber, and the Howardian Hills are quiet corners of deepest rural England.

Uncrowded accessible Yorkshire is perfect touring country with space and solitude never too far from the perfect place to stay.

A picture postcard village perhaps, with a friendly pub and traditional tea room? Each reflects its roots. The honey stone and red-roofed harmony of the North York Moors.

The neat grey hamlets of the Dales, setting for **All Creatures Great and Small.** Pennine weavers' cottages. East Riding white-wash and thatch.

Centuries of tradition have left their imprint on the land. Local life museums include the Yorkshire Museum of Farming near York, Ryedale Folk Museum, and the Dales Countryside Museum, Hawes.

Source: YHTB (1998b).

Appendix B: *Holmfirth and the Holme Valley*

Source: Kirklees Metropolitan Council (1997).

Appendix C: *Pride & Prejudice* at the National Trust

Source: National Trust (1996).

Appendix D: *The Movie Map*

Source: Liddall (1996a).

Appendix E: *and Action!*

Source: YHTB (1996).

Appendix F: Pre-Travel Interview Schedule

Australian Tourists: Pre-travel - 1

- **Have you travelled to the UK before?**

- **Previous Travel to the UK**

Why did you travel to the UK last time?

What did you do there?

What were the most important things you did? Why?

What motivated you to do these things?

Which were the most important places you visited? Why?

What motivated you to visit these specific places?

How would you describe the UK, what is it like there?

Do your ideas come from your actual experience or any other source?

Did your way of imagining the country alter after having actually experienced it?

♦ Current Travel to the UK - 2

What do you think the UK is like? How would you describe it?

Where do you think these ideas come from?

Why have you chosen to travel to the UK?

Who are you travelling with?

What rôle have you been played in the decision making to travel to the UK?

What rôle have the people you are travelling with played in the decision to travel to the UK?

What information on the UK did you come into contact with whilst choosing to travel to the UK?

What kind of images did this information use?

What kind of images did this information create in your mind?

Has this information altered the way you think about the UK?

What do you think the UK will really be like?

Which travel agent/tour operator/airline have you booked your travel arrangements with? Why?

Have you planned an itinerary?

What are the most important things you want to do whilst in the UK? Why?

Which places are the most important for you to visit? Why?

What do you think the specific places you want to visit will be like?

Where do you think these ideas come from?

♦ Film Viewing - 3

Have you seen film (television - series or films, motion picture films, videos, television advertizing) depicting the UK in the last two years?

Which films have you seen?

Have the others you are travelling with seen film (television - series or films, motion picture films, videos, television advertizing) depicting the UK in the last two years?

Which films have they seen?

How do you think the UK comes across in film?

Which areas of the UK were depicted?

Do you think that viewing film depicting the UK has influenced your/their choice to travel to the UK?

Do you think that viewing film depicting the UK has influenced how you/they booked the travel arrangements?

Do you think that viewing film depicting the UK will influence the most important things you/they want to do in the UK?

Do you think that viewing film depicting the UK will influence which places you/they want to see?

Has viewing film influenced the way you/they think about the UK?

Has viewing film influenced the way you/they think about specific sites within the UK?

♦ Is there anything else you would like to add?

Appendix G: Tourist Record

Date:	
Name and Contact Details:	
BTA	
Gender: M/F	
Age: <21/21-30/31-40/41-50/51-60/60+	
Profession:	
Background:	
Dates of Travel to UK:	
Future Interview:	
UK Contact Details:	
Respondent No:	

Appendix H: During Travel Interview Schedule

Australian Tourists: In the UK

- what did you imagine the UK to be like before travelling here? how would you have described it?
- where do you think those ideas came from?
- how does the UK actually compare with how you imagined it to be? what do you think about the UK now?
- which places have you visited so far? why? which have been the most important for you to visit? why?
- how did you get to know about these places originally?
- how did you feel when seeing these places? why?
- which places are important for you to still see? why?
- how did you get to know about these places originally?
- how do you think you will feel when you experience them? why?
- what are the main factors that have influenced your travel in the UK?
- has viewing film in Australia depicting the UK influenced your travel here in anyway? why? which film? how?
- have you visited any places that you originally saw on film? how did it feel experiencing them for real?
- how has this travel experience has affected you? will it alter the way you live your life back home?
- is there anything else you would like to add?

Appendix I: Post-Travel Interview Schedule

Australian Tourists: Post-travel

- what did you imagine the UK to be like before travelling there? how would you have described it?
- where do you think those ideas came from?
- how did the UK actually compare with how you imagined it to be? what do you think about the UK now?
- which places did you visit? why?
- which were the most important for you to visit? why?
- how did you get to know about those places originally?
- how did you feel when actually experiencing those places? why?
- what were the main factors that have influenced your travel in the UK?
- did viewing film in Australia depicting the UK influence your travel there in anyway? why? which film? how?
- how do you think this travel experience has affected you?
- how do you think this travel experience will alter the way you continue to live your life in Australia?
- do you think this travel experience will affect the way you watch film at the cinema or on television?
- is there anything else you would like to add?

Appendix J: Interview Schedule for Donna Wales, BTA

Donna Wales: Head of BTA's Media Relations

- how long have you worked here at the BTA? What do you do?
- how does your work specifically relate to the production of film (i.e. motion picture film, television series, travelogues, videos, television advertizing) depicting the UK?
- how do you influence its production?
- how would you like the UK to be presented in film? How do you encourage this? Do you promote certain areas/places? Why? Does the BTA have an official policy on this? What is it?
- do you think that film depicting the UK influences Australians' decision-making to travel to the UK? How?
- do you think that film depicting the UK influences how Australians book their travel arrangements? How?
- do you think that film depicting the UK influences the most important things Australians want to do/places they want to see in the UK? How?
- do you think that film depicting the UK influences the way Australians visualize the UK in their minds? How?
- which films do you think have the most significant impact on Australians travelling to the UK? Why?
- which film is most mentioned by Australian tourists here at the BTA's office? Why?
- what type and genre of film (cinema, TV, travelogues, video, advertizing) do you think has the most powerful impact on Australians travelling to the UK? Why?
- is there anything else you would like to add?

Appendix K: *Heartbeat (Snapped)* - see attached

Source: YTV (1996).

Appendix L: *Pride & Prejudice* - see attached

Source: BBC TV (1995).

Appendix M: *Remains of the Day* - see attached

Source: Merchant Ivory (1993).

Appendix N: *The Pemberley Trail*

Source: The National Trust (1997).